

**“Of course Kate does everything right.
We already know that.”: Middleton and Markle in the British
News Media and Twitter**



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Abstract

Kate Middleton and Meghan Markle have recently received a lot of media attention, both in the traditional media and social media. However, the reportage about the two Duchesses has been claimed biased. This thesis attempts to uncover the differences in the reportage of two British newspapers and people's sentiments that are shared on Twitter regarding the discussion about Middleton's and Markle's weddings, pregnancies, and their children's christenings. The method for analysing the research material is discourse analysis. First, ten newspaper articles written by *The Daily Mail* and *The Daily Express* will be analysed to uncover how the newspapers conceptualize the Duchesses. After that, 180 tweets will be analysed to uncover people's sentiments about the same topics on Twitter. Finally, the way the newspapers conceptualize the Duchesses is compared to the sentiments that people express on Twitter to uncover whether differences or similarities between them are evident. Through this, the differences of traditional media and social media can be identified, which contributes to the research conducted about the media treatment of the Duchesses.

This study found that the way newspapers conceptualized Middleton in the analysed newspapers is clearly more positive than the way they conceptualized Markle as all of the articles are constructed to reinforce the positive image of Middleton and the negative image of Markle. As a whole Middleton's personal brand was noted to fit the royal family's brand better than that of Markle's, which is why news coverage about her is more positive. On Twitter the sentiments about the Duchesses were noted to be much more diverse than in the newspapers. Many people accepted the pro-Middleton and anti-Markle attitudes presented in the newspapers and continued to reinforce them on Twitter. However, negative sentiments and judgements were also targeted at Middleton, the royal family, media, other Twitter users and the double standards surrounding Middleton and Markle on Twitter. Such tweets were common and often expressed a pro-Markle attitude by discussing Markle's mistreatment, which was not discussed the newspaper articles. Furthermore, no unified images of the two women exist on Twitter and as people are on the site to express their own views, a variety of sentiments about both Duchesses are apparent. In the newspapers, the range of sentiment is very narrow, despite *The Daily Mail* and *The Daily Express* being the most emotional newspapers in Britain.

Tiivistelmä

Kate Middleton ja Meghan Markle ovat viime aikoina saaneet paljon huomiota mediassa ja on väitetty, että sanomalehtien uutisointi herttuattarista on ollut puolueellista. Tämän pro gradu -tutkielman tarkoituksena on tutkia miten Kate Middletonin ja Meghan Marklen häistä, raskauksista ja heidän lastensa ristiäisistä kirjoitetaan sanomalehdissä ja Twitterissä. Tarkoituksena on selvittää millaisia eroja uutismedian ja sosiaalisen median välillä ilmenee diskurssianalyysin työkaluja käyttäen. Ensimmäisenä tavoitteena on tutkia kymmentä *The Daily Mail* ja *The Daily Express* -sanomalehdissä julkaistua artikkelia ja analysoida, millaisen kuvan lehdet pyrkivät luomaan herttuattarista. Tämän jälkeen tarkastellaan 180 twiittiä ja pyritään selvittämään, millaisia mielipiteitä samat aiheet herättävät Twitter-käyttäjissä. Lopuksi sanomalehtien luomia kuvia verrataan Twitter-käyttäjien mielipiteisiin, jotta saadaan selville, onko niiden välillä eroja tai samankaltaisuuksia. Tämä edistää ymmärrystä siitä, millaisia eroja uutismedian ja sosiaalisen median välillä on herttuattaria käsittelevässä keskustelussa.

Tämän tutkimuksen puitteissa saatiin selville, että sanomalehtien luoma kuva Middletonista on huomattavasti positiivisempi kuin Marklesta luotu kuva ja kaikki analysoidut artikkelit on kirjoitettu tukemaan tätä ajatusta. Herttuattarista Middletonin katsottiin sopivan paremmin kuningasperheen omaan brändiin, minkä johdosta häntä koskevat uutiset olivat positiivisempia kuin Marklesta kirjoitetut uutiset. Twitterissä naisiin kohdistuvat mielipiteet olivat puolestaan monipuolisempia kuin sanomalehdissä. Useat käyttäjät tuntuivat hyväksyvän lehtien ylläpitämän positiivisen kuvan Middletonista ja negatiivisen kuvan Marklesta. Kuitenkin myös Middleton, kuningasperhe, media, muut Twitter-käyttäjät ja herttuattariin kohdistuva kaksinaismoralismi saivat Twitterissä kritiikkiä, ei pelkästään Markle. Tällaiset twiitit olivat yleisiä ja niissä pyrittiin usein puolustamaan Marklea tuomalla esiin häneen kohdistuvaa epäreilua kohtelua, mikä erosi merkittävästi artikkeleista. Näin ollen twiiteissa Middletoniin ja Markleen kohdistuneet mielipiteet olivat huomattavasti hajanaisempia kuin artikkeleissa, joissa herttuattariin kohdistuvat mielipiteet olivat yksipuolisia, huolimatta siitä, että *The Daily Mail* ja *The Daily Express* ovat tunnetusti Britannian tunteellisimpia sanomalehtiä.

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1 Introduction

Catherine, the Duchess of Cambridge, and Meghan, the Duchess of Sussex, have been the topic of several newspaper articles during their time as members of the royal family. The articles have discussed most of the Duchesses' life events from the moment Middleton started dating Prince William and Markle Prince Harry, and since then not many events in their lives have gone unseen by the press. One could claim that the actions of the Duchesses are being discussed and assessed in the British newspapers weekly, at certain times, daily. The newspaper articles and the way the press writes about the two differ from one another quite drastically, which has been noticed by the general public. Although both women used to be commoners, their differences have been highlighted by the press. Kate Middleton is British, White and had not been married before she met Prince William, whereas Meghan Markle was an American mixed-race divorcee when she met Prince Harry.

On the 8th of January 2020, an announcement was made on the Sussexes' Instagram page that the couple would "step back as 'senior' members" of the British royal family" dividing their time between the United Kingdom and North America and hope to become financially independent (Ng, 2020). According to Ng (2020), "British media tabloids' 'unfair coverage'" was a major reason behind the couple's decision and Ng's continues to elaborate by saying that "[t]he poor treatment of Meghan by the press has not gone unnoticed by the British public, with 39 percent [out of 4,330 UK adults, who answered a survey] suggesting she is treated least favourably". Ever since the announcement, people's awareness of the issue increased, and many articles were published about

the way the press treats Markle. The way she is treated was often compared to the treatment that her sister-in-law, Middleton, receives. In the beginning of the year 2020, an article about the differences in the way the women were presented in the newspapers, originally written by Ellie Hall for *BuzzFeed News*, began circulating online, further increasing people's awareness about this inequality. In the article, headlines about the Duchesses were compared side by side, showing that the headlines about Middleton were always more positively toned than those about Markle even though they were always written by the same newspapers and were about events that were almost identical. The inequality was also noted in a STV documentary series *The Palace and the Press* when comparing the Duchesses and the way they handle the press: "It was clear that the tabloids were not treating Meghan the same way as her sister-in-law Kate" (Redshaw, 2020, Episode 3). The series reports that "[t]o the tabloids [Markle] was not 'one of us'. Coverage [about her] became openly critical and would often have uncomfortable racial overtones" (Redshaw, 2020, Episode 3). Furthermore, in March 2021 Markle and her husband gave an interview to Oprah Winfrey, in which they shared that during Markle's first pregnancy, Prince Harry had had conversations with other members of the royal family about the baby's skin colour and what it might mean to the royal family. Thus, the issue of race and racism has been very current in the discussion surrounding the royal family and the unequal treatment of Middleton and Markle.

In 2020 the unequal treatment of the Duchesses in news media became a widely known issue and on social media platforms, such as Twitter, and people started sharing their different views about the situation: some defended Markle and others criticized her. Some of these opinions were influenced by the newspapers and their reportage of the Duchesses, as "it is undeniable that [popular online media] can influence the general public's opinion" due to their popularity and wide distribution (Lazaridou et al., 2017, p. 943). The aim of this master's thesis is to uncover the differences in the understandings that the two British tabloids, *The Daily Mail* and *The Daily Express* are creating of the two Duchesses and to discover what kind of sentiments the public has towards the Duchesses and their lives. The focus will be on the Duchesses weddings, pregnancies, and their children's christenings, which are the topics of the articles and the tweets that will be analysed in this thesis.

According to the royal family's official website, Kate Middleton was born in Berkshire in the United Kingdom (*About the Duchess of Cambridge*, 2020). Middleton spent her early childhood in Jordania, where her father worked, but returned to Berkshire to begin her education. She went on to Marlborough College in Wiltshire, where she studied Chemistry, Biology and Art at A-level. After a gap year, she enrolled at the University of St. Andrews, Fife, from where she graduated in 2005 with a 2:1 in History of Art. The University of St. Andrews was also the place where Middleton first met Prince William. The couple started dating in 2003 and they married in April of 2011,

through which she earned the title of Duchess of Cambridge. She was the first commoner to marry an heir to the throne since Anne Boleyn married Henry VIII in 1533. The couple now has three children together: Prince George, Princess Charlotte, and Prince Louis, born in 2013, 2015 and 2018, respectively. Middleton is known for supporting several charitable causes and organizations, of which many aim to support the well-being of children, especially the mental health of children. British newspapers have written about her from a rather positive perspective and all the five articles written about her that will be discussed in this master's thesis can be considered positive. However, the tweets about her are often not as positively toned and she appears to receive more criticism on Twitter than she does in the newspapers.

Meghan Markle was born in Los Angeles, California and spent most of her life in the United States. After graduating from the University of Evanston with a dual degree in Theatre and International Relations, Markle began to work as an actress. She is well-known for her role in the television series *Suits*, during the filming of which Markle moved to Toronto, which became like a second home for her (*About the Duchess of Sussex*, 2020). Markle started dating Prince Harry leading to the couple getting married in May of 2018, when Markle was granted the title Duchess of Sussex. Markle gave birth to the couple's first child, Archie, in 2019. Like her sister-in-law, Markle spends her time attending several different charities, gender equality and girls' education in the developing countries being very dear to her (*About the Duchess of Sussex*, 2020). Markle was married once before her relationship with Prince Harry, which is not mentioned on the royal family's website. Her ex-husband is an American film director, producer and talent agent Trevor Engelson and their marriage lasted from 2011 to 2013. This earlier marriage as well as her background as an American mixed-race actress sets her apart from Middleton. Markle's relationship with the British newspapers has not been as good as Middleton's as even two lawsuits have been filed against them by her husband Prince Harry for spreading false information about his wife. In an official statement on the couple's website Prince Harry writes:

Unfortunately, my wife has become one of the latest victims of a British tabloid press that wages campaigns against individuals with no thought to the consequences — a ruthless campaign that has escalated over the past year, throughout her pregnancy and while raising our newborn son (Duke of Sussex, 2019)

The quote indicates Prince Harry to think that the tabloids often write about Markle in a condescending way, and as he won the lawsuits in 2021, his interpretations were considered valid in court.

Markle has, indeed, been the target of negative news articles, which is visible in this study as well. In 2020, the Sussexes stepped down from the senior royals' position in the British royal family and

the event came to become known as ‘Megxit’. Furthermore, in April of 2020, the couple announced that they would no longer be working with the four biggest tabloids of the United Kingdom, *The Sun*, *Daily Mail*, *Mirror* and *Express*, as they accuse the tabloids “of running stories that are ‘distorted, false, or invasive beyond reason’” (Waterson, 2020). Out of the four tabloids, *The Daily Mail*’s and *The Daily Express*’s articles will be analysed in this thesis and therefore, the Sussexes’ statement is relevant to the study. As of 2020 and their move to the United States, the Sussexes have been keeping their life more private. However, in February 2021, the couple announced that they were expecting their second child and during their interview with Oprah Winfrey the unborn baby was revealed to be a girl. As the pregnancy announcement took place in 2021 when all the research material was already collected for this thesis, tweets or articles about Markle’s second pregnancy will not be included in this thesis. Markle has undeniably been the target of many negative newspaper articles and the tweets discussing her show that many people have noticed the inequality in the way media treats her and have spoken about that on Twitter. Therefore, Markle appears to have supporters on Twitter but she does receive a lot of criticism on the platform as well.

1.2 Aim and research questions

The aim of this master’s thesis is to study how the British tabloids *The Daily Mail* and *The Daily Express* discuss Middleton and Markle and how the newspapers are conceptualizing the Duchesses. In addition, a number of tweets will be analysed to uncover the general public’s sentiments about the Duchesses. Through this, an overview of the media’s representation of Middleton and Markle is discovered alongside the general opinions of the public. These two aspects will then be compared with one another to see whether the public’s sentiments of the Duchesses differ from the way the newspapers have conceptualized them. Therefore, the purpose of this study is to uncover the possible differences in the media’s way of reporting the Duchesses actions and the people’s sentiments and thoughts about the same topics.

A total of ten articles will be analysed in this thesis, six of which were published in *The Daily Mail* and four in *The Daily Express*. The aim is to expose differences in the surface content of the articles as well as in the writing style to uncover not only what they overtly say but also how they construct the overall understandings of the two Duchesses. Finally, the ways the newspapers conceptualize Middleton and Markle will be compared with one another and the possible reasons for the differences will be discussed. Five articles about each Duchess have been chosen, and they will be analysed individually and in pairs while answering the first two research questions. The research questions of this thesis are the following:

1. How does the language used to describe the Duchesses' actions differ in the articles?
 - a. What names are used to refer to the Duchesses?
 - b. What reporting verbs and adjectives are used?
 - c. How are vocabulary choices and grammatical devices used to emphasize or lessen the significance of events and information?
 - d. How are words and grammar used to connect or disconnect events and information or ignore connections between them?
2. How do the newspapers conceptualize the Duchesses and how do these conceptualizations differ from each other?
3. What does the language used about Middleton and Markle reveal about the writer's attitudes towards the Duchesses in the tweets?
 - a. What kind of verbs, nouns or adjectives are used when referring to the Duchesses?
 - b. How are words and grammar used to connect or disconnect events and information or ignore connections between them?
 - c. What sentiments does the language imply?
 - d. Does the language suggest that there is a clear attitude towards either of the Duchesses (e.g., anti-Middleton, pro-Markle)?
4. How do the attitudes implied by the newspapers differ from the attitudes that are visible on Twitter?

The ten articles will be analysed in the pairs in chapter 4. Each article pair includes one article about Middleton and another about Markle on the same topic. By pairing the articles, the analysis of the language and conceptualization is easier to contrast, not least because the topics of the articles within each pair are very similar. The first research question and its sub-questions will be answered in the analysis section, whereas the overall differences in the language and the conceptualizations created of the Duchesses, i.e. the answer to the second research question, will be discussed in detail in the conclusions section while gathering all the findings from the analysis section together.

After the analysis of the newspapers, chapter 5 will focus on tweets. A total of 180 tweets have been collected about Middleton's and Markle's weddings, pregnancies and their children's christenings and they have been divided into categories according to the tweets' sentiments. Each category will be analysed separately in the analysis section where the language of the tweets will be analysed by answering the third research question and its sub-questions. Finally, in the conclusions section the reportage of the media and the people's sentiments will be contrasted by answering the fourth and final research question.

2 Review of literature

Although the Duchesses have received a great deal of attention in the tabloids, on social media and in so-called “gossip” publications, neither the Duchesses nor the texts written about them have received much scholarly attention. Some attention has been paid to the social and economic influence dubbed “the Kate effect”, which has been analysed by Ashleigh Logan, Kathy Hamilton and Paul Hewer (2013), who examine articles, images and text about Middleton in *Cosmopolitan UK* to expose the enormous influence Kate Middleton has on purchases of cosmetics, household products as well as fashion. The study clarifies the serious impact of the seemingly trivial reporting of brands associated with the Duchess of Cambridge as she fulfils her royal duties. Other scholars have focussed on the ideologies evident in reporting about Middleton and Markle. Kim Allen, Heather Mendick, Laura Harvey, and Aisha Ahmad (2015) analyse how Middleton, Kim Kardashian and Beyonce fit the ideal image of a ‘celebrity mother’, revealing that Middleton’s whiteness and domesticity contribute to the ideal. Maclaren and Otnes (2020) discuss Meghan Markle’s addition to the royal family and which aspects of the personal brand hinder her from being accepted into the family. In addition, Laura Clancy and Hannah Yelin (2018) discuss how Markle’s feminist identity affects the royal family, whereas Rachael McLennan (2021) discusses how Markle’s race is viewed. Furthermore, Iman M. Mahfouz (2018) analysed the way Markle is presented in Facebook posts and found that pro- and anti-Markle attitudes existed within the posts she analysed, revealing that ideologies such as racism and feminism affect these attitudes. However, the only systematic analyses of newspaper articles that compare the presentation of the two Duchesses have been conducted by undergraduate researchers. Aina Fullana Ribot (2019) and Fanny Eriksson (2020) both analyse the newspaper reportage of the two Duchesses in their theses, revealing that the women’s backgrounds and impact on the image of the royal family affect the way the newspapers write about them.

I begin the review of literature by summarising the main findings of scholarly research that clarify how the Duchesses have been branded and present some indications of the social and economic impact of this branding. This research primarily focuses on materials available through more official outlets such as newspapers and magazines. In addition, theories connected to race will be discussed to further understand the role race plays in the discussion surrounding the Duchesses. This discussion involves theories about ideologies (Van Dijk, 2006) as well as racism (Cole, 2016) and Whiteness (Dyer, 1997). Finally, the chapter concludes by summarising existing research by undergraduates examining newspaper articles about the Duchesses.

Middleton's "celebrity princess" brand has been analysed by Logan et al in their article "Re-Fashioning Kate: the Making of a Celebrity Princess Brand". They use interpretive content analysis to analyse articles, images and text about Middleton in *Cosmopolitan UK*, a popular women's lifestyle magazine, and a total of 35 articles and 56 images from November 2010 to July 2012 were included in the research material. The data, thus, includes articles and images from the time when Middleton was joining the royal family. As the articles have been published in a lifestyle magazine, the focus of the articles is more appearance and lifestyle based than in the articles analysed in this master's thesis. Regardless of this, the study introduces valuable insight into the branding that Middleton has gone through. The study identifies that Middleton's celebrity princess brand transformed within the time frame of the study and the "five faces of the celebrity princess brand" are introduced: "Girl Next Door Kate", "Fairy-tale Princess Kate", "Humble Kate", "Regal Kate" and "The People's Kate" (Logan et al., 2013, p. 379). Leaning on these five phases of Middleton's celebrity princess brand, the importance of keeping up the impression of Middleton being humble and "*like the rest of us*" despite her royal status is highlighted alongside her 'ordinariness' (Logan et al., 2013, p. 381). As a whole, the magazine is found to celebrate "the ordinary and mundane aspects of Kate's fashion to make her relatable to and within 'reach' of the consumer masses" (p. 379). Allen et al. (2015) also identify how Middleton's "ordinariness" is often highlighted in *The Sun*, Twitter, interviews, and the speeches they analyse in their study, and through this a "Cinderella story of a normal girl catapulted into the world of wealth and privilege" is crafted, which the media does in order to "[craft] Middleton as normal" (p. 6). This impression of Middleton being humble, ordinary and relatable to the common people is an important aspect of Middleton's brand and recognizing the media's desire to highlight these aspects of her brand will help in analysing the motives behind the language used in the research material.

Regarding the language of the magazine article, Logan et al. (2013) find that *Cosmopolitan* "subtly endorse Kate Middleton's fashion choices" and the writers use colloquial language to "position themselves to be like the aspiring consumer or adoring 'fan' in order to secure consumer buy-in around the celebrity brand" (p. 379). This endorses the 'Kate effect', a phenomenon in which "[i]nstantaneous sell outs, inundated websites and waiting lists" are to be expected when Middleton decides to use a product of a specific brand (Logan et al., 2013, p. 378). Since the study was published in 2013, it does not discuss Markle. However, the existence of the 'Meghan effect' should be recognized as her joining the royal family created an effect identical to that of Middleton's. Markle is, therefore, in no inferior position compared to her sister-in-law regarding her fashion choices and their influence on the common people. However, as her background as an actress made her a celebrity before joining the royal family, the impression of her being 'ordinary' and 'just like

the rest of us' is not possible to achieve like in Middleton's case, which sets the two apart. Markle is also not known for humble and modest outfits like Middleton, which makes their styles different from one another. Therefore, Markle's celebrity princess brand does not follow the same path of transformation as Middleton's does. Nevertheless, both Duchesses have had a major impact on fashion and the consumers of it as they are both highly interesting individuals for the common people and through this, they both have made the royal family more relevant. This is a valuable finding regarding this master's thesis as identifying the Duchesses' differences, or in this case similarities, is important when uncovering the motives behind the media coverage of the Duchesses.

The royal family's brand has a strong effect on the branding of Middleton and Markle as their brands are closely connected to that of the royal family's. Logan et al. (2013) lean on the idea that the British royal family are considered to be "above ordinary celebrity as their roles are entwined in the social and historical fabric of our society" (p. 381). Maclaran & Otnes (2020) also share this view of the royal family's desire to remain above other celebrities in hierarchy and they introduce "[the] paradox of 'accessible mystique' that those managing the [royal family] must negotiate, as members of this monarchy to retain their status of being 'above celebrity'" (p. 30). They further argue that as the British monarchy was established centuries ago, "[the royal family's] status (the 'magic' in Bagehot's terms) stems from their symbolic links to the world heritage, their dynastic lineages, and even their assertions that God has chosen them to reign" (Maclaran & Otnes, 2020, p. 30). However, these aspects of their brand are losing their power as the monarchy's influence in Britain decreases due to the evolving political system. Thus, the royal family needs to work to stay relevant and influential in relation to the common people as their position is no longer as strong as it used to be. Logan et al (2013) argue that "the British Royal Family brand sustains and reinvigorates its appeal through marrying itself with the 'Kate effect'" (p. 381). In other words, Middleton's influence and her celebrity princess brand are considered beneficial to the royal family as she is capable of catching the attention of contemporary citizens with her 'ordinariness', through which she reinforces the status of the royal family in Britain. In addition to this, Middleton's status as the mother of a future monarch makes her an important character in building the current and future image of the royal family. Thus, the royal family values Middleton's brand and wants her image to remain desirable and admirable, which influences the media treatment she receives as the royal family is capable of influencing the media.

However, the 'Meghan effect' is also beneficial to the royal family as a positive image of Markle, a new member of the royal family, influences the image of the whole family. As Markle is the first member of the royal family with a biracial heritage, her joining the family can be viewed as a sign of diversity within the royal family. Yelin & Paule (2021) interviewed 50 black girls aged 13–15 in

state schools across England in 2018 about their opinions about black female leaders and celebrities. They found that the girls considered Markle to represent “deserving royalty, precisely because, being pleasingly unroyal, they believe she will ‘push’ and ‘do more’” (Yelin & Paule, 2021, p. 6). The girls also identified Markle’s ‘outsider’ status within the royal family, and one of the interviewees even stated the following: “She’s actually helping people outside. She’s not really with them [the royal family], she is more the person outside the family” (p. 3). Thus, Markle joining the royal family is viewed positively among the young girls because of her otherness, whereas in other contexts it is criticised. Thus, the ‘Meghan effect’ in this sense can be considered the reason behind the audience that is interested in the royal family becoming more diverse. Clancy & Yelin (2018) also state that after Markle joined the royal family “the left-wing press have been overwhelmingly pro-royal wedding”, which also proves that Markle has had a positive impact on the news coverage of the royal family (p. 5). According to Clancy & Yelin (2018), Markle has the left-wing press’ attention as they view “Markle is an effective tool for repositioning the monarchy as an institution” (p. 6). Thus, the ‘Meghan effect’ draws attention to the royal family, like the ‘Kate effect’, but the attention is often critical as people are expecting change, which makes the effect less desirable for the royal family than the ‘Kate effect’. Overall, Middleton’s brand integrates well with the brands of the royal family whereas Markle’s personal brands do not. Recognizing the value of Middleton (and the ‘Kate effect’) and Markle (and the ‘Meghan effect’) to the monarchy helps in identifying the motives behind the language of the articles written about them within the scope of this master’s thesis.

Maclaran & Otnes (2020) describe Meghan Markle’s addition to the family “the latest challenge” that the royal family has had to face (p. 30). According to Maclaren & Otnes (2020) the royal family maintaining their status strongly revolves around the five brands the family comprises of: “family, global, heritage, human, and luxury” (p. 30). In their study Maclaran & Otnes analyse which of the royal family’s brands Meghan Markle “is most likely to contribute in building and maintaining mystique” (p. 30). In addition, they look at which of the brands she might “diminish or perhaps even damage, as the brand attempts to remain ‘above celebrity’ and delicately balance the accessibility demanded by consumer culture with the retaining of its mystique” (Maclaran & Otnes, 2020, p. 30). As the study includes analysing both traditional and social media, it is similar to this master’s thesis. However, it does include analysing interviews and archival data, which this study does not investigate. Furthermore, the research method of this study is based on the discourse found in traditional and social media, whereas Maclaren & Otnes’ study is more focused on the ethnographic aspects of the royal family. Regardless, the findings of the study are relevant to this

thesis as Markle's influence and value to the royal family is important to understand in order to uncover the motives behind the news coverage and the people's views about her.

Maclaren & Otnes (2020) conclude that "Meghan Markle's present and future contributions, both positive and negative, stretch across all five facets of the [royal family]" (p. 41). They argue that Markle's marital status and background as an actress were not questioned as much "her underlying motives for marrying Prince Harry (e.g. the 'gold-digger' stereotype), and of course, her biracial heritage" (Maclaran & Otnes, 2020, p. 33). In addition to these aspects, Maclaran & Otnes (2020) note that Markle's "problematic family" also made her transition into the royal family difficult (p. 34). Markle's mother was the only member of Markle's family who was present at Markle's wedding as Markle's relationship with the rest of her relatives has been complicated. Her father admitted staging photoshoot for money prior to Markle's wedding, whilst her brother wrote a letter to Prince Harry warning him not to marry Markle (Maclaran & Otnes, 2020, p. 40). In addition, Markle's stepsister Samantha Markle is known for vocally criticizing her and she has even published an autobiography titled *The Diary of Princess Pushy's Sister* (Maclaran & Otnes, 2020, p. 40). Thus, Maclaren & Otnes (2020) claim that

"the family brand dimension [...] is likely to be most problematic for Meghan Markle, in terms of her contributing to the [British royal family]. This is because by shunning her family of origin (even rightfully, as many argue), Meghan violates a sacred sociological norm of many cultures – that family should stick together through thick and thin." (p. 40).

Evidently, Markle's family brand is clearly the most problematic of the five facets of the royal family and its position as such will be noted while analysing the data. Overall, despite Markle being beneficial to the royal family, the difficulties of her joining the family are highlighted more often.

Markle's background as feminist can also be considered a key feature of Markle's personal brand and Mahfouz (2018) describes that Markle is known as a proud feminist as well as a supporter of gender equality and an advocate of female empowerment (p. 246). The royal family, on the other hand, is not known for being progressive, which is why Markle joining the family has caused discussion. Furthermore, Maclaren & Otnes (2020) argue that how Markle's biracial heritage and her background as a feminist will affect the royal family is uncertain and it remains to be seen whether they will help "move the dialog about racial issues and tensions forward on a broader stage" (p. 37). Clancy & Yelin (2018) comment on the topic in their article as they argue that highlighting Markle's feminist identity is beneficial to the image of the royal family as

a celebrity (post)feminist such as Markle is of great value to a British monarchy keen to set themselves apart from these other forms of patriarchy and to mask, or at least deflect attention from, their own intensely problematic relationship with issues of race, gender, class and religion (p. 6)

As people are given the image of a new member of the royal family that seems to be supportive of feminist values, their image of the whole family might potentially appear progressive. However, Clancy & Yelin (2018) also emphasize that “[m]ediations evoking Markle as monarchy’s feminist antithesis are not going to dismantle the structural patriarchy and privilege the monarchy relies upon” (p. 4). They further argue that “the monarchy appear to be celebrating [Markle’s] diversity and modernising influence, [but] this is only permitted within prescribed boundaries” (Clancy & Yelin, 2018, p. 5). This is visible in the royal family’s actions as “Markle’s activist voice has been either silenced or appropriated” by making her quit her acting career, closing down her popular blog as well as her social media accounts as “the Palace find it somewhat regrettable, perhaps even embarrassing, that she ever previously had a public voice” (Clancy & Yelin, 2018, p. 5).

In addition to Markle’s background as a feminist, her biracial identity has also evoked discussion. Maclaren & Otnes (2020) describe Markle’s racial heritage to be “coded by many as a welcome symbol of diversity but by others as egregious”, which makes the issue complicated and difficult to predict (p. 37). Thus, Markle’s race is evidently a key factor in her acceptance into the royal family, which has also been highlighted by Mahfouz in her study analysing Facebook posts. According to Mahfouz (2018), racial criticism has been targeted at Markle “especially by tabloids and social media” as the people have had difficulties accepting “an American, biracial, former actress, who is also divorced” into the royal family that is “often considered the main symbol of whiteness” in Britain (p. 246-247). Mahfouz (2018) also notes that her research method, Discourse Historical Approach, “pointed to the undertones of racial discrimination, distinction between royals and commoners, as well as disfavoring Americans” (p. 257). Furthermore, Rachel McLennan (2021) agrees that “[i]t is clear that Meghan’s biracial identity is understood to be the primary cause of ‘harsh criticism’” (p. 1). She also highlights that “[her] examples show that other aspects of [Markle’s] identity, such as nationality, are also invoked to manage [Markle’s biracial identity]” (p. 6). Thus, Markle’s race is often left unspoken by bringing the attention to her nationality or her former career instead when discussing her ‘otherness’ in the royal family. This shows that the discussion revolving around race in the context of the royal family is a difficult subject and thus, Markle’s biracial heritage is often “smoothed out” as McLennan puts it. McLennan provides an example of this from Andrew Morton’s biography, *Meghan: A Hollywood Princess*, as she identifies that Morton “smooths out” Markle’s biracial heritage “by shifting his focus to foreground her identity as ‘American,’ and arguing in the book’s closing pages that it is class, not race, which really makes an individual an outsider in the royal family” (p. 4). Naturally, Morton’s claim can be identified to be false, as Middleton and Markle are both commoners, but only Markle is considered

an outsider in the royal family. However, by highlighting these aspects of Markle, Morton draws attention away from Markle's race, which shows that the topic is controversial.

Maclaran & Otnes compare Middleton and Markle while discussing the global brand of the British royal family. Maclaran & Otnes (2020) argue that "[t]he key dimension that fuels the global fascination with the [royal family] is the fairy-tale narrative of Prince Charming finding his Princess" (p. 34). The recent royal romances between Prince Charles and Diana Spencer, Prince William and Kate Middleton and Prince Harry and Meghan Markle "reinforce and resonate with this underdog-to-princess global narrative" (Maclaran & Otnes, 2020, p. 35). However, not all "underdogs" are considered equal in this matter and Maclaren & Otnes (2020) claim that consumers around the globe "pass judgement on whether [an] underdog does in fact possess the iconic qualities worthy of the transformation to royal status" (p.35). Thus, the importance of consumers i.e. the British people is highlighted in this aspect as in the end their opinions about these "underdogs" are very influential. And as the consumers get most of the information about the royals through newspapers, the royal family is very interested on what the media is writing about its members.

In Maclaran & Otnes' (2020) article, Spencer's and Middleton's importance to the royal brand is highlighted as they provide "their photogenic, public-shared 'heirs and spares' that will ostensibly perpetuate the monarchy, and contribute to the dynastic aura of the brand by literally keeping it alive" (p. 35). This is also highlighted by Clancy & Yelin (2018) as they describe the monarchy as an establishment of British national patriarchy that "built on the subjugation of women's bodies as biological machines to reproduce heirs (and hence, reproduce hereditary power)" (p. 3). However, in Markle's case it is very unlikely that "her future progeny will enjoy that kind of status, given the number of royals ahead of them in the line of succession" (Maclaran & Otnes, 2020, p. 35). This highlights the fact that Middleton is more important to the British royal family brand than Markle as she is to be the mother of a future monarch. Markle's status is not as important and therefore, she is expected to receive different treatment from the royal family, the press, and the people. The newspapers typically convey the views and ideas of the press as well as the royal family as the family controls most of the information that is given to the press. This is why analysing the newspapers collected for this study is important. Furthermore, analysing the tweets in the scope of this study reveals the views of the people, who are interpreting the news that they are receiving through traditional media. Whether the royal family is successful in conveying their ideals to the people, can be determined by analysing what people are saying on social media.

Furthermore, Allen et al. introduce another aspect of Middleton's brand that is considered more desirable than that of Markle's: motherhood, which is an important aspect considering the research

material of this thesis. In their article “Welfare Queens, Thrifty Housewives, and Do-it-all Mums” Allen et al. (2015) “consider how the cultural politics of austerity within Britain plays out on the celebrity maternal body” through a textual analysis of Kate Middleton, Kim Kardashian, and Beyoncé, three celebrity mothers (p. 1). Several different sources are analysed in the study, for example *The Sun*, *Twitter*, music videos, interviews, and speeches. Thus, the study has similar research materials as this master’s thesis as it looks at newspaper articles and tweets. In Allen et al.’s (2015) study, all three women are representatives of different races and each of them also represents a different form of celebrity motherhood: “the thrifty happy housewife, the benefits mum, and the do-it-all working mum” (p. 5). Allen et al. (2015) identify the three women as “exemplary and abject figures of austerity’s maternal feminine” (p. 5). For this study, Allen et al.’s analysis on Middleton is naturally important, but also the findings about Kardashian will be taken into account as Markle has received similar criticism during her pregnancy as Kardashian. The two women also share a similar ethnic background as people of colour, which arguably might be one of the reasons behind their similar treatment.

According to Allen et al. (2015) “[c]elebrity pregnancies and motherhood are collective cultural experiences, historically subject to a gaze that converts private affairs into public matter” (p. 5). In Middleton’s and Markle’s position as members of the royal family, their pregnancies and motherhood are considered collective cultural experiences and they are expected to be public and shared with the common people through media. Traditional media shares news about the Duchesses’ pregnancies and their roles as mothers, which leads to people talking about them online. Social media is identified as a means of monitoring the maternal body of celebrities in the modern world as well as being a platform where people share their opinions about the Duchesses and their mothering skills. This is why analysing tweets in addition to the newspaper articles is relevant. Celebrity mothers and their motherhood are a popular topic of discussion in online spaces because they often function as role models for the people, due to which they are considered influential representatives of the maternal feminine. Some of these mothers and their feminine are more desirable from the austerity’s perspective, which was identified by Allen et al. in their study. The same can be said of Middleton and Markle as Middleton’s pregnancies and motherhood are often considered more desirable than that of Markle’s.

As “the Royal Family play a role in the cultural work of austerity”, Middleton has been “the subject to an extraordinary level of symbolic loading” as a white British royal (Allen et al., 2015, p. 5). Allen et al.’s (2015) study finds three key themes in Middleton’s mediated maternity: “thrift and ordinariness; domesticity and retreatism; and the respectable maternal body” (p. 5). All these themes can also be identified in the articles and tweets analysed in this master’s thesis. In addition,

ordinariness is again closely connected to Middleton, which was also noted by Logan et al. when discussing Middleton's celebrity princess brand. The importance of domesticity in Middleton's case is also identified in Allen et al.'s article. According to the article, the "celebration of the domestic has become a benchmark of successful femininity, with homemaking and childcare coded as sites of happiness and moral worth" (Allen et al., 2015, p. 7). Middleton is represented so that she seemingly fulfils the requirements of being "a domestic goddess" and therefore, she fits the more desirable form of maternal feminine identified by austerity. Allen et al. (2015) also note that Middleton's maternal body is seen as desirable due to "her neat and hardly visible bump", as her pregnant body was frequently described as "'demure', 'poised', 'elegant' and 'chic'" (p. 7). The study concludes that Middleton has been and will be "celebrated as a role model for young women and mothers" due to her fulfilling austerity's definition of respectable motherhood, which again contributes to Middleton's brand being more ideal to the royal family (p. 7).

As mentioned earlier, Allen et al.'s discussion about Kardashian can be connected to Markle as their ethnic backgrounds as well as their media treatment during pregnancy have been similar. Kim Kardashian's "ethnic ambiguity" as well as her figure, and relationships with black men make her "arguably more proximate to blackness than whiteness", whereas Markle's mixed race background directly connects her to blackness (Allen et al., 2015, p. 8). The key themes that Allen et al. (2015) associate with Kardashian's mediated maternity are "criticism of her lack of hard work and excessive spending; a scrutiny of her unruly pregnant body; and judgement of her sexual conduct" (p. 8). These themes position Kardashian "as an abject figure" and contribute to the production of the image of Kardashian as "the wrong kind of mother" and "the wrong kind of celebrity" (p. 8). According to Allen et al. (2015) Kardashian is "outside of the realm of respectable 'pure white' middle-class femininity", which is why she "is a convenient vessel for anxieties and moral judgements circulating within austerity" (p. 8). Kardashian pregnant body was "deemed lacking" as it "was subject to harsh gaze which judged it to be excessively fleshy and hyper-sexualised" (Allen et al., 2015, p. 9). These arguments also fit Markle, as she is seen by many as "a wrong kind of celebrity" to be joining the royal family, as the royal family wishes to remain "above celebrity" in their branding (Maclaran & Otnes, 2020, p. 30). In addition, Markle's pregnant body and the way she has acted while pregnant have been criticised. As a whole, Markle's pregnancy and motherhood has been criticised more than that of Middleton's as she does not fit the image of an ideal maternal feminine. Overall, the research conducted by Allen et al. is relevant to this master's thesis as it discusses celebrity pregnancies and how they are represented in the media while bringing them into the British context with race being one of the vocal points of the study.

The Duchesses and their actions always receive both negative and positive attention as people share their opinion on social media platform. An article by Iman M. Mahfouz examines the representation of Markle in Facebook posts that followed the wedding of Markle and her husband by using Discourse Historical Approach as the theoretical framework. Mahfouz (2018) collected eighty status posts randomly using Facebook's own search option and aimed to examine "the linguistic features that contribute to the construction of a positive or negative image of Markle in the selected posts through the use of different discourse strategies" (p.247). Thus, this study analyses similar data as the tweets collected for this master's thesis and Mahfouz's approach to analysing the posts is discourse based, much like the approach of this study. Furthermore, Mahfouz analyses how the positive and negative images of Markle are created in the posts, which is very similar to what is done for the newspaper articles in this thesis.

Mahfouz's (2018) study identifies the existence of people that are either pro-Markle or anti-Markle within the Facebook posts and according to her "those who are pro-Markle have a positive view of her background and identity" and believe that they "add to her diversity rather than detract from her potential for becoming a royal" (p. 256). These people also celebrate her "as the first black princess" and show "respect and admiration for her former profession as an actress and role as a feminist" as well as "sympathize with her for her former divorce and wish her happiness with her newly found soul mate" (Mahfouz, 2018, p. 256). The people who are anti-Markle "depict her as an African American divorced woman of inferior background" and "believe that she is unworthy of becoming a member of the royal family due to her origins" (p. 256). They "regard her as an outsider who brings disgrace and disgust to the royal family" and claim her to be "an opportunist who has planned for this marriage" (p. 256). Therefore, the opinions that the public have of Markle vary as both positive and negative images are created of Markle in the Facebook posts. These pro- and anti-Markle attitudes will also be analysed from the tweets collected for this study alongside pro- and anti-Middleton attitudes to understand how the public opinion of the Duchesses is divided.

As seen in articles by Allen et al., Maclaren & Otnes and Mahfouz, ideologies connected to race and gender, racism and feminism, are closely connected to the discussion revolving around Middleton and Markle as they affect the way people treat the Duchesses. Sentiments that will be analysed when looking at tweets collected about the two women will be treated as discourses that reveal different ideologies, which is why ideologies are relevant to this study. In his article, Teun A. Van Dijk summarizes some of the relations between ideologies and discourse. Van Dijk (2006) defines ideologies as "socially shared representations of groups" concludes that they "are the foundations of group attitudes and other beliefs, and thus also control the 'biased' personal mental models that underlie the production of ideological discourse" (p. 138). For example, a feminist

ideology or a racist ideology might be visible in the discourse that this study is analysing in the newspaper articles and tweets. Van Dijk (2006) explains that ideologies “typically become expressed in terms of their own underlying structures, such as the polarization between positive ingroup description and negative outgroup description” (p. 139). This means that the views and action of the group that share the ideology are seen positively and are praised whereas the views and actions of the people outside of the group are viewed negatively and judged. Furthermore, “ideologies also specify what general cultural values (freedom, equality, justice, etc.) are relevant for the group” (Van Dijk, 2006, p. 116). Thus, for example, if judgemental sentiments about Markle’s skin colour or heritage were to be found in the data, the sentiment would be revealing an underlying racist ideology. This highlights the importance of analysing the sentiments visible in the research material. Van Dijk (2006) concludes that we “may witness the influence of the ideological ‘bias’ of underlying mental models and social representations based on ideologies” at all levels discourse (p. 139). However, he also highlights that “that not all discourse structures are ideologically controlled, and that no discourse structure only has ideological functions” (Van Dijk, 2006, p. 139). Thus, the research material and the sentiments found within it must be analysed thoroughly before making connections to ideologies.

Furthermore, racism is also discussed by Mike Cole (2016), who explains how racism can be intentional or unintentional or direct or indirect, but which ever it might be, it can still cause equally as much distress (p. 2). Meaning that underlying racism ideologies that can be found by analysing sentiment the research material are equally harmful whether they are intentional or not. Cole (2016) argues that “racism related to Britain’s colonial past still has a significant presence” in Britain. He lists that it is present in some context more than in others, football, employment, and housing being examples of this. Therefore, racism is undeniably present in the United Kingdom and it is visible in the newspaper articles as well. Cole provides examples of indirect racism from both *The Daily Mail* and *The Daily Express* when he discusses racism in the United Kingdom and as the articles analysed in this master’s thesis are from these two newspapers, indirect racism might be found from the articles. Furthermore, no direct racism should be evident in the articles analysed in this master’s thesis as racism is more likely visible indirectly and possibly even unintentionally. However, in the collected tweets, racism might be more apparent as the language on Twitter is not as moderated as that of newspapers. Recognition of this sort of racism is important as it provides more understanding of the less visible aspects of racism.

Richard Dyer (1997) discusses the matter of whiteness and how the white race is represented in the media and how people see the race. This is relevant to this study, as the British royal family is often considered “the main symbol of whiteness” in Britain (Mahfouz, 2018, p. 247). One of the

key ideas within the book is the notion that “[o]ther people are raced, [white people] are just people”, which brings forward an important aspect that should be taken into consideration in this master’s thesis: white privilege (Dyer, 1997, p. 1). According to Dyer (1997) “[w]hiteness is the sign that makes people visible as white, while simultaneously signifying the true character of white people, which is invisible” (p. 45). He argues that white people are privileged enough that their race appears invisible, causing them not to get categorized because of it. Usually when speaking of a white person, their race is left unmentioned, whereas the race of a black or an Asian person would be mentioned, due to the fact that being white is considered the ‘norm’ in the western society. As Dyer mentions, the race of a white person is often invisible, which is why it is often forgotten, allowing the individual to be seen as more than just a representative of their race. Therefore, Middleton’s whiteness allows her to remain unaffected by racial prejudice, which is a privilege Markle does not have as a mixed-race woman. Especially in the context of the British royal family, Markle’s mixed race heritage stands out from the rest of the royal family as all other members are white, and thus, invisible, leading to her being treated differently due to her race.

The unequal treatment of the Duchesses in the tabloid newspapers suggests that the media is indeed biased, however, “when bias is observed in the text, it is more likely to be subtle and underlying, than explicitly given as an opinion or a comment” (Lazaridou et al., 2017, p. 943). Lazaridou et al. (2017) note that all kinds of bias “are very challenging to identify in political news and even harder to quantify” (Lazaridou et al., 2017, p. 943). Therefore, bias might be difficult to identify from the chosen articles of this master’s thesis as well. However, media slant is still possible to identify and Lazaridou et al. (2017) describe that slant “can be expressed both with the choice of reporting an event, e.g. a person’s statement, but also with the words used to describe the event” (Lazaridou et al., 2017, p. 943). Therefore, analysing the words that the reporter decides to use in certain situations is important. As noted by Lazaridou et al., bias is likely to be subtle and underlying in a text, and thus, it is less easily recognised as racism or discrimination. Therefore, this master’s thesis aims to uncover how – in terms of linguistic choice and visual/mental image – ‘tone’ or ‘attitude’ are conveyed in the research. Lazaridou et al. (2017) suggest that “bias is more frequently observed in social than news media” (p. 944). This means that bias as well as different tones and attitudes should be easier to identify from tweets as the language of them is more informal than in newspapers and people are allowed to state their own opinion more freely.

Middleton and Markle and the way they are treated in traditional and social media have been analysed separately by scholars, but only two undergraduate studies, bachelor’s theses by Aina Fullana Ribot and Fanny Eriksson, analyse and compare the way the two women are treated in traditional news media. Furthermore, only the abstract of Eriksson’s thesis is accessible, which

further limits the resources. These two studies also lack the aspect of social media as they focus on British tabloids newspapers as their research material. Regardless, these two theses include interesting findings that will be noted when analysing the data of this master's thesis.

Aina Fullana Ribot compares the representation of Kate Middleton and Meghan Markle in the British press through corpus analysis in her thesis. She argues that as Middleton and Markle “share gender and rank, their cultural backgrounds set them apart and that is hypothesised to influence their representation in the press” (Fullana Ribot, 2019, p. 4). The aim of Fullana Ribot's thesis is to analyse whether any defamatory and disparaging discourse towards either of the women appears in the 361 articles she collected as her corpus. She compares newspaper articles from both left- and right-wing newspapers and analyses the use of names and epithets, binomial expressions and adjectives and their frequency in reference to both Middleton and Markle. As a result, she concludes that both left-wing and right-wing newspapers contribute to the linguistic discrimination towards Middleton and Markle due to their gender, but she also notes that the discrimination targeted to Markle is also greatly influenced the prejudice associated with her race (Fullana Ribot, 2019, p. 23). Thus, the notion of race, especially that of Markle's, is noted to affect the treatment of the Duchesses, as research by Maclaren & Otnes and Mahfouz has also showed. Furthermore, as Fullana Ribot concludes, there is no visible difference between left- and right-wing newspapers regarding the language used to discuss the Duchesses. Therefore, the fact that my master's thesis only includes articles written by right-wing newspapers is no hinderance to the research as the language should not be affected by the political stance of the newspapers. However, the traditional values that the right-wing newspapers advocate should be considered when analysing the articles.

The aim of Eriksson's (2020) thesis “was to investigate if there was a difference in the evaluation of [Middleton and Markle] in [*The Daily Mail*]”. In her study, Eriksson (2020) analysed a total of 400 headlines collected from *The Daily Mail* using “the theoretical framework of Evaluation in Text and Critical Discourse Analysis”. Thus, Eriksson's data consisted only of headlines, not full articles like in my thesis. Eriksson (2020) concludes that Middleton was frequently evaluated more positively than Markle in the headlines. She also notes that the negative evaluations of Markle were typically harsher than the negative evaluations of Middleton. Eriksson (2020) concludes that the possible reason for the difference in evaluation “was found to be the different social backgrounds of [Middleton and Markle] in combination with the tremendous brand value of the British Royal Family to the British economy”. As the contents of the study are limited to the abstract, no further information about the findings could be accessed. However, in addition to the different social backgrounds of the Duchesses, Eriksson states the brand value of the British royal family to be of

importance regarding the treatment of Middleton and Markle, which was also discussed in studies conducted by Allen et al., and Maclaren & Otnes.

Thus, these undergraduate studies by Fullana Ribot and Eriksson suggest that the Duchesses' races, their social backgrounds and their impact on the British royal family are key causes for the different images that are created of them in the newspapers. However, these theses as well as the other scholarly research conducted about Middleton and Markle lack to incorporate whether the Duchesses are treated differently on social media. Thus, my thesis aims to fill that gap in the research field by comparing both newspaper articles and tweets written about Middleton and Markle. According to the previous studies, social media might reveal more diverse sentiments targeted at the two women than traditional media and by uncovering these sentiments a better understanding of the way people write about the Duchesses will be revealed.

3 Research material and methodology

The material analysed in this master's thesis consists of newspaper articles and tweets, all of which are about Middleton's and Markle's weddings, pregnancies, or their children's christenings. The newspaper data consists of ten newspaper articles, of which five are about Middleton and five are about Markle. All ten articles are published by *The Daily Mail* and *The Daily Express*. These articles will be analysed using discourse analysis and the tools James Paul Gee provides in his book *Discourse Analysis: A Toolkit*. Of the 27 tools that Gee introduces in his book, five appropriate tools have been chosen and will be used to analyse the language of the articles. They will also be used to identify what kind of an image the newspapers are creating of Middleton and Markle.

In addition to analysing the newspaper articles, the research material also includes 180 tweets. All tweets that were collected have been written between 2011 and 2020 and relate to the same topics as the newspaper articles. By selecting tweets on the same topics as the newspapers, it was possible to trace public reaction to the events. Given that newspapers are still the primary source of information about the Duchesses, the products they use and their behaviour, the supposition is that the public is being guided to respond in a particular way. Whether or not they do, is one of the issues this thesis addresses.

The two sets of data differ significantly from one another. And so, although discourse analysis is used to examine both the newspapers and the tweets, the tweets were also coded and categorised using sentiment analysis. Below, the collection of the two data sets is described more fully, followed by an overview of the analytical tools used to examine them.

3.1 Data collection and categorization

On the 13th of January 2020 *Buzzfeed News* published an article written by Hall that compared newspaper reports written about Kate Middleton and Meghan Markle. In Hall's article there were ten reports about Middleton and ten about Markle, which were then compared side by side. The articles that were compared with one another were always published by the same newspaper and revolved around a topic that was often the same in both articles, or at least very similar. These articles, therefore, formed ten article pairs. For this master's thesis, the 20 newspaper articles collected by Hall have been divided into four categories: I Weddings, II Pregnancies, III Christenings and IV Relations with the royal family. I focus on the first three categories and the ten articles in those categories. The analysis will be research based unlike Hall's comparison that was written in a sensational tabloid style. Of the ten articles, four articles written by *The Daily Mail* and *The Daily Express* discussed Middleton's and Markle's pregnancies. Four articles were written

about the weddings, which were also published by these two tabloid newspapers. In addition, two articles written by *The Daily Mail* were about the christenings of the royal babies. Each article analysed in this master's thesis is, therefore, written by a right-wing tabloid newspaper.

In addition to the newspaper articles, a corpus of 180 tweets on six different topics was collected for this master's thesis. A top-down approach was used to form the selection criteria of the tweets as the topics are based on the newspaper articles. The six topics are: Middleton's wedding, Markle's wedding, Middleton's pregnancies, Markle's pregnancy, christenings of Middleton's children and the christening of Markle's son. 30 tweets were collected to represent each topic. The tweets about the weddings and the pregnancies were collected on the 21st of October 2020 and the tweets about the christenings were collected on the 20th of November 2020.

Table 1.

Tweet search criteria

Topic:	Includes these words:	Includes either or:	Exactly this phrase:	Timeframe:
Middleton's wedding	<i>Kate, Middleton, wedding</i>			15 th of April 2011 – 15 th of May 2011
Markle's wedding	<i>Meghan, Markle, wedding</i>			1 st of May 2018 – 1 st of June 2018
Middleton's pregnancies	<i>Kate, Middleton</i>	<i>pregnancy or pregnant</i>		
Markle's pregnancy	<i>Meghan Markle</i>	<i>pregnancy or pregnant</i>		
The christenings of Middleton's children	<i>Kate, Middleton</i>		<i>#royalchristening</i>	
The christening of Markle's son	<i>Meghan, Markle*</i> <i>Meghan, Markle, christening</i>		<i>#royalchristening*</i>	

Note. *Only six tweets matched these criteria.

Twitter allows different search options to be chosen when searching for tweets and these options were used in the data collection process (see Table 1). Each of the searches conducted to collect the corpus included the options “no links” and “no responses”, and the first 30 of the “most popular” tweets were chosen about each topic. For the searches about weddings, a timeframe was also

chosen, to make sure that only tweets on the intended weddings would be included in the corpus. Middleton's wedding was on the 29th of April 2011, and due to this the timeframe set for the search was 15th of April 2011 – 15th of May 2011. Markle's wedding was on the 19th of May 2018 and the timeframe for the tweets was set to 1st of May 2018 – 1st of June 2018. Timeframes were not included for any other topic because no similar issues with accuracy were noted. For the wedding searches, the keywords "Kate", "Middleton" and "wedding" were used when searching for tweets about Middleton's wedding and the keywords "Meghan", "Markle" and "wedding" were used for Markle's wedding. For the pregnancy tweets either the word "pregnancy" or "pregnant" had to be included in a tweet in addition to "Kate" and "Middleton" or "Meghan" and "Markle". For the christenings of Middleton's children, the exact phrase "#royalchristening" was a part of the search criteria in addition to words "Kate" and "Middleton". The same hashtag was first attempted to include in the search regarding the christening of Markle's son, but only six tweets matched the criteria when the hashtag was included. Therefore, for the christening of Markle's son, the keywords "Meghan", "Markle" and "christening" were used to collect the corpus.

The tweet corpus of this master's thesis is smaller than the corpora of similar studies and thus, this study is able to focus on the details of the tweets unlike studies with bigger corpora as the number of tweets about Middleton and Markle is so large that even bigger studies struggle to capture the detail. In Nguyen et al.'s (2013) study "[a] dictionary-based approach and a machine learning approach [of sentiment analysis] are implemented within the framework and compared using one UK case study, namely the royal birth of 2013" (p. 1). They endeavoured to capture the sentiments expressed by the general public regarding the birth of Prince George in various parts of the British Isles including Ireland. They identified over a million tweets on the topic alone over the period of two days. The conclusion of the study shows machine learning to be as reliable as dictionary-based methods of sentiment analysis, but Nguyen et al. (2013) also recognize that the volume of tweets overwhelms even those who are used to working with big data analyses (p. 8). This study makes no claim that it can fully chart the range of sentiments expressed by the general public as the corpus collected is small in volume. With a corpus of 180 tweets this study is clearly just scratching the surface of the full range of tweets on the topics but is sufficiently large to provide some qualitative insights into the sentiments of the public. A smaller corpus also allows this study to focus on the details of the language within the tweets, which is important as the goal is to study attitudes and sentiments within the tweets. Next, the data collection process is discussed alongside the categorization of the data.

Sentiment analysis is typically associated with big data analyses of large corpora (Bermingham & Smeaton, 2010; Nguyen et al., 2013; Zhang et al., 2018). However, the corpus analysed in this thesis is sufficiently small to allow for all coding and analysis to be done manually. A manual approach makes it easier to notice features of language that a computer program might not be able to identify, for instance, irony and other forms of double meaning. The corpus is also sufficiently large – it represents 180 different people’s opinions – to be considered a reasonable sampling of the general public’s opinion. Thus, discourse analysis and corpus analysis will be used in this thesis when uncovering the differences between the sentiments in the tweets and the images created of Middleton and Markle in the articles. Finally, ideas of sentiment analysis will be used to further uncover the sentiments visible in the chosen tweets.

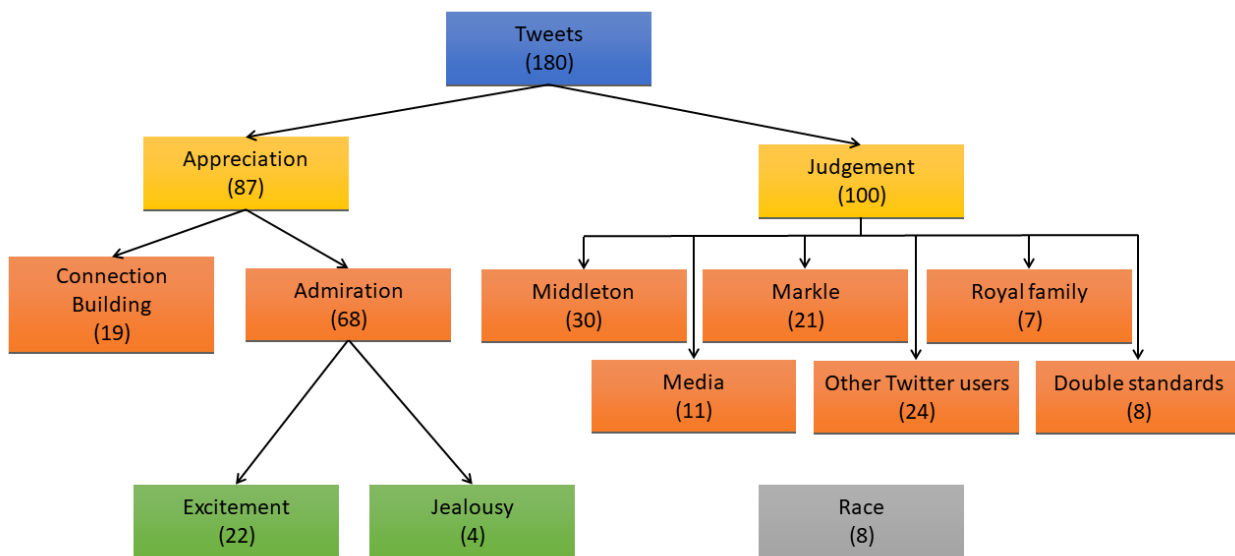
After the 180 tweets were collected about the six different topics, the coding of the tweets according to their content began. This was thought to make comparing the two corpora in terms of data easier. Cohen et al. (2007) define coding as “the ascription of a category label to a piece of data, with the category label either decided in advance or in response to the data that have been collected” (p. 369). However, after creating the categories according to the content of the tweets an inter-rater reliability test was conducted. The purpose of an inter-rater reliability test is to see “whether another observer with the same theoretical framework and observing the same phenomena would have interpreted [the data] in the same way” (Cohen et al., 2007, p. 148). In this case the test aimed to discover whether other people would divide the tweets similarly into the categories that I created. 20 tweets, i.e. approximately 10% of the corpus, were included in the test. The test showed that the two people who participated in the test chose different categories for several of the tweets as approximately 25% of the tweets were categorized differently on each of the tests when compared with the original categories. Furthermore, after a discussion with the participants it was also noted that many of the categories were overlapping and participants found that a single tweet could often fit into even three different categories. A problem with the content-based categories was, thus, identified as there was more overlap in the categories than was expected. Therefore, working bottom-up and categorizing the tweets in terms of content was noted not to be the best way to look at the material. As this study aims to uncover people’s views about the Duchesses through the tweets, the content of the tweets is not necessarily important, rather the sentiments and the emotions that the tweets show. Therefore, the content-based categories will not be used when analysing the data, instead, the categorization of the tweets will be made in terms of sentiment and emotion.

Thus, the corpus was coded again according to the sentiments expressed in each tweet. This second coding was more of a rough coding and it was identified that many tweets might fall into several different categories. First, the tweets were simply coded with codes positive, negative and neutral,

thereafter more specific sentiments started to be identified. Eventually further sentiments were identified to the extent that no tweet remained in the neutral category as every tweet was noted to include some sentiment. During the coding process different colours were used to highlight words and phrases within the tweets that expressed sentiment. Firstly, the tweets were browsed through and notes were made about the tweets, essentially noting what kinds of sentiments were distinctive from the data. After this, the tweets were read several times in order to “become thoroughly familiar with them” and through coding, relevant words, sentences, and phrases were labelled from the material by identifying “interesting patterns, any surprising, puzzling or unexpected features, any apparent inconsistencies [and] contradictions” (Cohen et al., 2007, p. 478).

Figure 1.

Categorization of the tweets



During the coding process the focus was on the sentiments of the tweets, but when categorizing the negative sentiments, the content of the tweet was also used to divide the tweet into further sub-categories. Cohen et al. (2007) note that by “coding up the data the researcher is able to detect frequencies (which codes are occurring most commonly) and patterns (which codes occur together)” (p. 478). These kinds of frequencies and patterns were found as similar sentiments were expressed in many tweets. Once the first part of coding had been done, Cohen et al. (2007) advice that next step would be to “group codes into more general clusters, each with a code, i.e. begin the move towards factoring the data” (p. 481). Thus, after the different sentiments were identified from the data, they were then separated into different sub-categories (see Figure 1). The main categories originally titled positive and negative were titled *Appreciation* and *Judgement*. *Appreciation* category includes a total of 97 tweets, whereas the *Judgement* category includes 100 tweets. Due to some tweets including both positive and negative sentiments there is a slight overlap within the

main categories. *Appreciation* category is divided into two sub-categories: *Connection Building* (19 tweets) and *Admiration* (68 tweets). In addition, the *Admiration* category also has two sub-categories: *Excitement* (22 tweets) and *Jealousy* (4 tweets). The *Judgement* category, on the other hand, is divided into six different sub-categories according to the target of the judgement and thus, these sub-categories are content based: *Middleton* (30 tweets), *Markle* (21 tweets), *the royal family* (7 tweets), *media* (11 tweets), *other Twitter users* (24 tweets) and *double standards* (8 tweets). Furthermore, an addition category titled *Race* (8 tweets) was also created as all tweets discussing race were collected together from the tweet corpus, which is why every tweet in the *Race* category is categorized in another category.

After dividing the tweets into these categories another inter-rater reliability test was conducted. Again 20 tweets, i.e. 10% of the corpus, were included in the test. The results showed that 80% of the tweets were categorized similarly to the existing categories. The participants could easily identify sentiments of excitement, jealousy and admiration from the tweets. Similarly, judgment towards Middleton, Markle, the royal family and other Twitter users was easy to identify. However, identifying connection building from the tweets appeared difficult. Furthermore, through the test results and a discussion with the participants, the similarity and major overlap of the categories *Judgement towards media* and *Judgement towards double standards* became evident. All tweets included in the test that were categorized to be judgemental towards the double standards surrounding Middleton and Markle also show judgement towards media, as the double standards are typically noticed from the media treatment of the Duchesses. Thus, the categorization of the double standard tweets into the *Judgement towards media* category is not considered an error. Thus, the result of the inter-rater reliability test increases to 90%. However, some smaller errors were also evident when analysing the results. 20% of the tweets included in the test (4) were categorized in the intended categories, but they also included another additional category. After discussing these results with the participants, the additional categories were noted to fit the tweets, and thus, they are not considered errors either. This shows that other categories overlap with one another as well. However, these overlaps were only evident in the tweets of the *Judgement* category, as judgement was noted to target many parties within a tweet. This was to be expected as the likelihood of overlapping categories was identified already at the beginning of the coding process.

3.2 Analytical tools

As this study aims to analyse the language of newspapers and tweets as well as sentiments and attitudes visible in the language, discourse analysis, i.e. analysis of written, vocal, or sign language use, is the best tool for analysing the data. As sentiments are a valuable part of this thesis and

especially the analysis of the tweets collected, it should be noted that sentiment analysis studies have been conducted on Twitter using tools from big data analysis techniques such as machine learning. Sentiment analysis typically uses these techniques as the corpus collected for the studies of the field is expected to be large. Furthermore, these big data analysis techniques allow large amounts of data to be collected as parts of the categorization process is done automatically using different programs. For example, Ling Zhang, Wei Dong and Xiangming Mu (2018) used TREC Microblog Track 2013 to collect “a corpus of approximately 240 million tweets” for their article about analysing the features of negative sentiment tweets (p.786). However, no such tools will be used to analyse the research material of this master’s thesis, as this study is qualitative in nature rather than big data, and thus, it does not qualify as sentiment analysis. Therefore, this study focuses on understanding sentiments through discourse analysis, as sentiments can also be understood as discourses that reveal ideologies.

3.2.1 Discourse analysis

This study uses discourse analysis, which is the study of language-in-use. According to Amy Lou (2020), “[d]iscourse analysis is a research method for studying written or spoken language in relation to its social context” and it “aims to understand how language is used in real life situations”. She proceeds to explain that discourse analysis “can be applied to any instance of written or oral language, as well as non-verbal aspects of communication such as tone and gestures” (Lou, 2020). Thus, as this study analyses newspaper articles and tweets and the language used in them, discourse analysis is a functional method for answering the aim of this thesis, which is to uncover the possible differences in the media’s way of reporting about Middleton and Markle and the people’s sentiments towards and thoughts on the two women.

According to James Paul Gee (2011) discourse analysis is “the study of language at use in the world, not just to say things, but to do things” (p. 10), for instance, “to communicate, co-operate, help others, and build things like marriages, reputations, and institutions” (p. 10). Gee (2011) also highlights the negative impact that language can have, as he explains how people “also use it to lie, advantage themselves, harm people, and destroy things like marriages, reputations, and institutions” (p. 10). In his book *Discourse Analysis: A Toolkit*, Gee (2011) introduces 27 different tools for discourse analysis. He describes these tools as “specific question[s] to ask of data” (p. 11). For example, one of the tools that Gee (2011) lists is the *Doing and Not Just Saying Tool*, which means asking what the speaker/writer is trying to do, not just what they are saying (p. 42). These tools make the reader look at the details of the language very closely and help the reader to “tie these details to what speakers or writers mean, intend, and seek to do and accomplish in the world by the

way in which they have used language” (Gee, 2011, p. 11). Five of these 27 tools will be used to analyse the articles and tweets in this thesis. These five tools can be divided into two categories: *Language Tools* and *Motive Tools*. The following tables 2 and 3 introduce the tools and explain which shortened names will be used when referring to them later in the text. The table also introduces the questions that the tools ask of the text according to Gee. Finally, the tables include indications of which research questions of this master’s thesis each tool is used to answer.

Table 2.

Language Tools

The tool	Referred to as:	The question(s) it asks:	RQs:
<i>Vocabulary Tool</i>	<i>Vocabulary Tool</i>	1. What kind of words are being used and what is their effect on the style of the text? 2. How does the vocabulary contribute to the purposes of the communication?	1a. What names are used to refer to the Duchesses in the articles? 1b. What reporting verbs and adjectives are used in the articles? 3a. What kind of verbs, nouns or adjectives are used when referring to the Duchesses in the tweets?
<i>Significance Building Tool</i>	<i>SB Tool</i>	How are words and grammatical devices being used to build up or lessen significance (importance, relevance) for certain things and not others?	1c. How are vocabulary choices and grammatical devices used to emphasize or lessen the significance of events and information in the articles?
<i>Connections Building Tool</i>	<i>CB Tool</i>	How do the words and grammar being used in the communication connect or disconnect things or ignore connections between things?	1d. How are words and grammar used to connect or disconnect events and information or ignore connections between them in the articles? 3b. How are words and grammar used to connect or disconnect events and information or ignore connections between them in the tweets?

Table 3.*Motive Tools*

The tool	Referred to as:	The question(s) it asks:	RQs:
<i>Why This Way and Not That Way Tool</i>	<i>This Way Tool</i>	1. Why do the speakers/writers build and design their messages in a certain way? 2. What are they trying to mean and do by saying it the way they did, and not in other ways?	2. How do the newspapers conceptualize the Duchesses and how do these conceptualizations differ from each other? 3c. What sentiments does the language of the tweets imply?
<i>Doing and Not Just Saying Tool</i>	<i>Not Just Saying Tool</i>	What is the speaker trying to DO, not just what is the speaker trying to SAY?	2. What kind of images are the two newspapers trying to create of the Duchesses and how do these images differ from each other? 3c. What sentiments does the language of the tweets imply? 3d. Does the language of the tweets suggest that there is a clear attitude towards either of the Duchesses (e.g., anti-Middleton, pro-Markle)?

The *Language Tools* category includes three tools, the *Vocabulary Tool*, the *Significance Building Tool* (later *SB Tool*) and the *Connections Building Tool* (hereafter *CB Tool*), and they will be used to analyse the grammar and language of the articles and tweets. These three tools emphasize the vocabulary and the grammatical aspects of language and are used to analyse the language in the articles and tweets. The *Vocabulary Tool* highlights the importance of word types and their effect on the style of the text (register, social language) as well as how they contribute to the purposes of communicating (Gee, 2011, p. 53). The *SB Tool* is asking the text “how words and grammatical devices are being used to build up or lessen significance (importance, relevance) for certain things and not others” (Gee, 2011, p. 92). The *CB Tool* helps to answer the question “how the words and grammar being used in the communication connect or disconnect things or ignore connections between things” as well as “how the words and grammar being used in a communication make things relevant or irrelevant to other things, or ignore their relevance to each other” (Gee, 2011, p. 126). These three tools help answer the first and third research questions by helping provide

answers to how the language used to refer to the Duchesses' actions differs in the chosen articles and tweets.

The two *Motive Tools* are *Why This Way and Not That Way Tool* (later *This Way Tool*) and the *Doing and Not Just Saying Tool* (later *Not Just Saying Tool*). These tools provide a way to analyse the motives that the writers of the articles and tweets have as well as the reasons why they chose to use the words and phrases that they used. The *This Way Tool* asks why the speakers/writers build and design their messages in a certain way and also what they are trying to mean and do by saying it the way they did, and not in other ways (Gee, 2011, p. 55). Finally, the *Not Just Saying Tool*, that was mentioned earlier, suggests the question: "What is the speaker trying to DO and not just what is the speaker trying to SAY?" (Gee, 2011, p. 42). Therefore, these two tools help uncover the answer to the second research question by answering what the images created of Middleton and Markle in the articles are like and how they differ from one another. These *Motive Tools* also help answer the third research question regarding people's sentiments and attitudes towards Middleton and Markle represented in the collected tweets.

4 Middleton and Markle in *The Daily Mail* and *The Daily Express*

In this section the ten articles will be analysed as five article pairs that are divided into three categories according to their content: weddings, pregnancies, and christenings. The first two article pairs revolve around the weddings of Middleton and Markle. The next two pairs are about the Duchesses' pregnancies followed by the final article pair that is about the christenings of their children. Before moving on to the analysis, these three categories will be discussed. The categories represent the most important duty that a royal spouse has: producing heirs to the throne. Therefore, the most important role of Middleton and Markle as women and spouses to the men in the line of succession to the British throne is to mother new heirs to the throne. This is a possible reason as to why these three categories are the topic of many newspaper articles. As *The Daily Mail* and *The Daily Express* are right-wing newspapers the royalist values are visible in their articles. This indicates that the royalist readers and writers of the newspapers are interested in the royal family and would want to see the royal family remain as a part of the British culture. Before moving on to the analysis of the articles, I will provide a short description of British newspapers, focus being on *The Daily Mail* and *The Daily Express*, and the relationship between the royal family and the traditional news media.

British newspapers are usually categorized by their political leaning and format. Most British newspapers have a clear political leaning, which is visible in the articles they publish. According to Oxford Royale Academy (2016) the newspapers of Britain can be divided into two categories: the broadsheets and the tabloid newspapers. The broadsheets that get their name from having been published in the "broad sheet" format earlier, are usually identified as "those who write in depth for an audience interested in serious news writing rather than celebrity gossip or sensationalism". The tabloid newspapers that are described as "cheaper newspapers [that are] quicker to read, with the balance of news versus other content (gossip, weather, sport and games such as crosswords and sudoku) tipped much more towards the latter in comparison with broadsheets" (Oxford Royale Academy, 2016, np). The reliability of the British tabloids is debatable as they "do contain some good journalism, [but] they are strongly geared towards sensationalism, not a straight-forward presentation of the facts" (Oxford Royale Academy, 2016, np). Both newspapers analysed in this master's thesis, *The Daily Mail* and *The Daily Express*, are tabloid newspapers and they both are identified as right-wing newspapers by the Oxford Royale Academy.

The Daily Mail is described to be "the trusted paper of one-and-a-half million people" that is known for its "predictably sensationalist headlines" and "[i]ts website, *Mail Online*, is the most visited English-language newspaper website in the world" (British Newspapers Online, 2014b). The

newspaper is described by the British Newspapers Online (later BNO) as conservative and is known for “being anti-Europe, anti-immigration, anti-taxation, anti-abortion, anti-permissive, anti- (the list goes on and on...)”, which makes it evident that *The Daily Mail* supports traditional values and is often against change in general (British Newspapers Online, 2014b). In other words, conservative values are visible in the reportage of the newspaper. The articles published in *The Daily Mail* are described as follows:

Articles tend to be written in one of two tones – either sycophantic praise of the lifestyles of middleclass role models and their trappings, or (more usually) moral outrage at the everincreasing wickedness and instability of the modern world (British Newspapers Online, 2014b)

The quotation indicates that the writing style and the articles of *The Daily Mail* cannot be described as neutral as they both possess a bias associated with the right-wing politics. This will be noted when analysing the articles about Middleton and Markle.

The Daily Express is “very similar in style, tone and format to its great rival, the Daily Mail” states BNO (2014a). Politically, the newspaper is described to be “a bit more balanced than the Mail”. According to the BNO, *The Daily Express* “even supported Labour rather than the Tories, before retreating to safer territory in 2004 when it reverted to supporting the Conservative Party”. Therefore, the newspaper’s political leaning has changed in the past, but today it is widely identified as a right-wing newspaper. BNO describes the articles in *The Daily Express* followingly:

[The Daily Express has] also been criticised in recent years for pursuing conspiracy theories surrounding the death of Diana, Princess of Wales – and, in 2007, for running headlines concerning the case of disappeared toddler Madeleine McCann on its front page for weeks on end, without there being anything genuinely new to report (British Newspapers Online, 2014a).

Therefore, *The Daily Express* attempts to write articles on topics that are thought to interest their readers irrespective of whether anything new to report has emerged or not. This gives the impression that the articles published in the newspaper might not be as current as one might wish when reading a newspaper.

Furthermore, the power relations between the royal family and the press affect the articles and news that are written about the royals. For the most part, the royal family controls what information they give out to the press, but the press often gets information from other sources as well. The royal family has always had a complicated relationship with the press as media has often exposed royal scandals, most recent being Prince Andrew’s associations with Jeffrey Epstein, a convicted sex offender known for sex trafficking minors, and rumours of Prince William having an affair with his wife’s close friend Rose Hanbury (Redshaw, 2020, Episode 2; Michaels, 2021). Scandals often

force the royal family to make statements about the issues they would have otherwise stayed silent about, which was also the situation with Prince Andrew's paedophilia scandal (Redshaw, 2020, Episode 2). Some scandals have also been avoided due to the royal family warning papers not to publish some information that they have received from other sources. One such occasion took place in 2012, when many papers had received topless pictures of Kate Middleton, but no paper published the pictures because of letters sent by Prince William (Redshaw, 2020, Episode 3). Newspapers did not want to anger the prince because it might have meant losing an important source of royal news. However, in 2016, when Prince Harry published a statement asking the press to stop harassing Markle, the effect was not the same, as similar reportage of Markle only intensified (Redshaw, 2020, Episode 3). This shows that different members of the royal family seem to have more influence on the press than others. However, the final decisions about the publishing of a certain piece of news is evidently up to the press despite the royals' attempts to influence it.

4.1 Weddings

Four of the articles included in the research material are related to the weddings of Prince William and Kate Middleton in 2011 and Prince Harry and Meghan Markle in 2018. The first article pair presented here discusses the fragrances and scents used during the weddings and the other pair discuss the flowers the Duchesses had in their bouquets and headdresses at the weddings.

The weddings themselves do not differ from one another greatly as they both can be described as white weddings through Carter's standards. Carter (2018) argues that "white weddings in the UK communicate messages about whiteness – messages that have connections with privilege, status, wealth, class and wedding femininity" (p. 515). As she discusses this, she uses the wedding of Prince Harry and Markle as an example of a white wedding. Therefore, Markle's race does not affect the wedding's whiteness as the tradition of the royal family makes the wedding white as well as the family's role as the "main symbol of whiteness" in Britain (Mahfouz, 2018, p. 247). Regardless of the similarity of the weddings, the newspaper articles written about Middleton's and Markle's weddings differ greatly, and the differences will be identified using Gee's tools.

Fragrances

The article about Middleton's wedding fragrance is titled "Ladies in waiting! Kate's £70 wedding day fragrance sells out as fans worldwide snap up last bottle" and it will be later referred to as 'Ladies in waiting'. It was written by Jennifer Madison and it was published in *The Daily Mail* on 4 May 2011. The article is about the fragrance White Gardenia Petals by Illuminum that Middleton

chose to wear on her wedding day. After Middleton's scent of choice for her wedding was revealed to the public, all the 50ml bottles of the fragrance that were in stock were sold out. In addition to the article, a short inset titled "PS how Kate scented the abbey..." is included, which described the products the Duchess asked to be used to scent the wedding venue.

The article that discusses Markle's wedding scents is titled "Kicking up a stink: 'Dictatorial' bride Meghan wanted air fresheners for 'musty' 15th-century St George's Chapel... but the Palace said no". The article will later be referred to as 'Kicking up a stink'. The article was written by Rebecca English for *The Daily Mail* and it was published on 30 November 2018. The topic of the article is the Duchess' request to get St George's Chapel, where the couple was to be wedded, sprayed with water or perfume on their wedding day to remove an unpleasant smell. To accomplish this, handheld atomisers, meant for spraying water or perfume, would have been used. However, the request was rejected by the Buckingham Palace since it was considered inappropriate as the chapel was a regular place of worship for the Queen. The article criticizes Markle for making the request and reports that she has also clashed with the Queen's household over what tiara she should wear on her wedding day. However, according to the article, an unnamed source reveals that the households worked very well together, and they do not believe that the atomisers caused concern.

First, the first research question and its sub-questions concerning the language of the article will be discussed via analysing the vocabulary of the articles using Gee's *Vocabulary Tool*. The vocabulary used in 'Ladies in waiting' is rather descriptive and it includes several positive word-choices, for example Middleton revealing her fragrance is described as "the best-kept secret in fashion" that was "finally revealed". Middleton's wedding day is also referred to as "her big day", which is a positive phrase that makes the wedding day sound more personal and important. As research question 1a suggests, the names used of the Duchesses in the articles are important. In 'Ladies in waiting', four different titles are used to refer to Middleton: "Duchess of Cambridge", "Catherine", "Prince William's bride" and "Kate". All these titles can be considered positive or neutral, and the title "Kate" can also be interpreted as a nickname for the Duchess, which could be the writer's way of bringing Middleton closer to the average citizen. Arguably, using a nickname rather than a royal title to refer to Middleton could also be used as a way of reminding the reader of Middleton's commoner background. The heading of the article also includes the phrase "Ladies in waiting!", which is a reference to the profession 'lady-in-waiting', who is a personal assistant of a royal or high-ranking woman. In the heading, the title is altered to refer to the women on the waiting list for the fragrance that Middleton used. This reference is rather clever as a lady-in-waiting was often a woman of lower rank, as are the women on the waiting list in comparison to Middleton. This word choice creates a connection between the profession and the women on the waiting list for the

fragrance, which is identified through the *CB Tool*. This connection creates an imaginary bond between Middleton and the women on the waiting list, as the relationship between a lady-in-waiting and the lady she served was typically close and required the lady to trust her assistant. This connection is, therefore, a positive one and is made to form an image of a close relationship between Middleton and the common people.

Using Gee's *SB Tool*, the question of how words and grammatical devices are being used to build up or lessen significance in the article is answered. Mikael Donovan, the spokesperson of the fragrance brand Illuminum states that "[i]t's charming to think that so many people abroad are interested in the wedding". This statement makes the wedding sound small and usual, which it definitely was not, lessening the wedding's significance. This is done in order to make the selling out of the wedding fragrance more extraordinary. Logan et al. (2013) argues that as Middleton's celebrity-like status is evident, "[i]nstantaneous sell outs, inundated websites and waiting lists are just some of the benefits brands can expect" when Middleton decides to collaborate with them or use their products (p. 378). This 'Kate effect', therefore, indicates that the public is increasingly interested in Middleton, which shows that the significance of the wedding is lessened in the article (Logan et al., 2013, p. 378). Making Middleton's wedding sound smaller than it was in reality emphasises the volume of the sell out, which again supports Middleton's image as a popular and admired member of the royal family.

Hairdresser Michael Boadi is the founder of the fragrance brand Illuminum. He is mentioned to have styled Kate Moss and Naomi Campbell in the past. Michelle Obama is also mentioned to have purchased Boadi's first scents. Here Boadi, whom the average person does not know, is made to sound more important by describing the people he has worked with and who have bought his products. Through this the writer is making him sound more significant as the text connects him to famous people. Through Boadi and his fragrance, Middleton is also indirectly connected to Moss, Campbell, and Obama, which is identified by using Gee's *CB Tool*. Both Campbell and Obama are successful Black women, but it does not prevent the writer from building the connection between them and Middleton, indicating that she as successful as they are. Moss and Campbell are supermodels admired for their beauty, and by building a connection between them and Middleton, the writer is indirectly indicating Middleton to be equally famous and beautiful as the two supermodels. Talamas et al. (2016) use the 'attractiveness halo effect' in their research and define it as an effect "in which desired personality traits are ascribed to attractive people over unattractive people" (p. 2). Therefore, by describing Middleton beautiful through the connection to supermodels, her whole image is affected positively, which could be why the connection was made. Another possible reason could be the desire to emphasize Middleton's popularity and to show how far she

has come from her former status as a commoner. Here, ‘the People’s Kate’ brand, identified by Logan et al. (2013), is evident in creating an image of Middleton that “despite [her] riches and fame [she] remains ‘*like the rest of us*’” (p. 381). The word ‘us’ here refers to the common people. This image of ‘the People’s Kate’ is a reoccurring theme in the articles written about Middleton as her commoner background is highlighted often, which was to be expected as it is a major part of her personal brand. A quotation from Boadi is also included in the article as he comments on Middleton wearing his product: “I am thrilled to pieces. I am absolutely honoured”. This quote shows how Middleton is appreciated in the beauty world, which emphasizes the image of the former commoner who became a successful Duchess.

Middleton’s background as a commoner is a topic that is often mentioned in articles discussing her. Diane Reay (2015) tells that she gave over 10 interviews about Kate Middleton to international and British media in April 2011 (p. 798). She says that the media wanted her to “comment on the ‘the rags to royalty’ tale that was the Middleton family” (Reay, 2015, p. 798). Reay told the media that “it had taken five generations for Kate’s mother Carole’s family to move from coal-mining stock to millionaire, Marlborough-educated princess”, but she argues that all the media wanted was “a glittering fantasy of social mobility” (p. 798). She then gives examples of how different media described Middleton’s inheritance: “[d]escended from coal miners, the family of royal bride-to-be Kate Middleton is a shining example of social mobility”; “[The marriage] will be proof that fairy tales can come true [...] for those who see the union of a royal and a ‘commoner’, descended from a miner in north east England, as glorious symbol of social mobility” (p. 798). These examples emphasize the appeal that the media has toward depicting Middleton as a commoner, and as “one of us” by highlighting her ‘modest’ background. Middleton’s parents are millionaires, which makes her a privileged member of society, which the media often leaves unmentioned. By mentioning the coal miner ancestor, the media attempts to create an illusion of social mobility and an image that practically anyone could become a member of the royal family. Through this distorted image, Middleton is brought closer to the common people in an attempt to make her more relatable. This desired illusion of social mobility also functions as a motive for emphasizing Middleton’s background as it creates a more open image of the British royal family.

Gee’s *Vocabulary Tool* shows the vocabularies in ‘Ladies in waiting’ and ‘Kicking up a stink’ differ drastically. The phrase “[k]icking up a stink” is an expression used in the United Kingdom to describe someone being in bad mood. The Cambridge Dictionary (2020) defines the idiom as follows: “to show great anger about something, especially when this does not seem necessary”. Therefore, this phrase is already making a statement about the whole article by showing Rebecca English’s own attitude towards the issue: Markle is complaining about the smell of the chapel and

English's interpretation is that her complaint is unnecessary. This attitude continues to show in the heading as Markle is referred to as "'[d]ictatorial' bride Meghan" and in the use of an ellipsis in the middle of the heading, possibly indicating silence or that something is left unsaid about the issue. The article includes similar word choices as 'Ladies in waiting', for example the wedding day is referred to as "her big day" as Middleton's was. To answer research question 1a, a total of five different titles are used of Markle in the article: "'dictatorial' bride Meghan", "Duchess of Sussex", "Meghan Markle", "the soon to be Duchess of Sussex" and "Meghan". Most of the titles are neutral, with the first one, that was also used in the heading, being the exception.

Furthermore, some English's word choices show her negative attitude towards Markle. As English writes about Markle's opinion on the smell of the chapel, she writes "[t]he only problem was, apparently, the smell". The use of the word 'apparently' indicates a level of disagreement and judgement. Arguably, English does not think that the smell of the chapel should be an issue for Markle. Furthermore, Markle's request to get the chapel sprayed with water or perfume using devices called atomisers did not please the Buckingham Palace. At the beginning of the article, English uses the words "request [...] to 'atomise' the Windsor chapel, used by the Queen", which sounds like a request to destroy the chapel when separated from the context. One interpretation is that English is trying to exaggerate the situation to get people to read the whole article. According to "well-placed royal sources", who also told of Buckingham Palace's disapproval towards the atomisers, described the chapel as "a regular place of worship for the Queen – as it had been for successive monarchs since 1475". These sources state that "if it was good enough for them, it would be good enough for her". These direct quotes are powerful, stating that Markle should not be displeased with the smell of the chapel as the current and past rulers have been content with it. However, as the sources remain anonymous, their reliability is difficult to determine. By mentioning that the Queen uses the chapel regularly, Markle's 'otherness' becomes apparent as the chapel is connected to the Queen. The use of the *CB Tool* depicts this connection between the Queen and the chapel, which positions Markle as an outsider, who has attempted to change something that the Queen is content with. The *CB Tool* and *SB Tool* indicate that the connection between Markle and the royal family and its significance is lessened, which emphasises Markle's role as an outsider. This separation of Markle from the rest of the royal family is also visible later in the article as English discusses the announcement of Markle and Prince Harry's move from Kensington Palace to live in Frogmore Cottage, Windsor, after which, according to English, Markle's friendship with her sister-in-law Middleton is not believed to be close.

Furthermore, English writes that "[t]here have been suggestions that Meghan and Harry are proving unpopular with royal staff and can be difficult and 'dictatorial'". Here both Markle and her husband

are described as difficult and ‘dictatorial’, however, English has used the word ‘dictatorial’ in the heading to describe Markle as a bride, to emphasize the significance of her request, which is identified using the *SB Tool*. According to “recent reports” Prince Harry has told the royal staff that “What Meghan wants, Meghan gets”, which reinforces the questionable image of the couple, alongside the statement that the Queen has “said to have warned her grandson about their behaviour”. *Not Just Saying Tool* helps to identify these quotations as English’s attempt to create a negative image of Markle. Furthermore, English writes that the request to use atomisers “specifically came from Meghan’s office in Kensington Palace”, which again reinforces the notion that the atomisers were, indeed, Markle’s request rather than a joint request from the couple. The *SB Tool* shows that through this, Prince Harry’s significance is lessened while the significance of Markle is increased regarding the request.

English’s own opinion towards Markle is also visible in a quotation from a before mentioned source, which discusses the smell of the chapel: “It just smells how you would expect an old building to smell. And that’s something that the Royal Family are particularly used to”. This final sentence indicated that the members of the royal family are used to the smell of the chapel and it, therefore, does not bother them. The *CB Tool* shows that that a connection between the royal family and not being bothered by the smell is created. This connection is visible throughout the article and its significance is emphasized, which is noticed through the *SB Tool*. However, if interpreted further with the *Not Just Saying Tool*, Markle’s position as a member of the royal family is denied due to her being bothered by the smell of the chapel. Mahfouz’s (2018) article includes similar findings: according to the people who are anti-Markle, Markle is “inapt to join the royal family” and she “fails to conform to royal traditions and behaviour” (p. 256). In other words, similar anti-Markle attitudes are visible in ‘Kicking up a stink’ as in Facebook posts studied by Mahfouz but unlike in the Facebook posts, discrimination and racism are not directly visible in the article.

To conclude, the two articles revolve around topics which are very similar, especially as ‘Ladies in waiting!’ included an inset titled “PS how Kate scented the abbey...”, which describes how Middleton scented Westminster Abbey, where she was wedded, with scented candles and toiletries. This offers the readers knowledge about the products she used, in order for them to buy the same products as Middleton. The scents Markle chose for her wedding were not introduced in detail in ‘Kicking up a stink’, which means that the scents are not as accessible to the public as in Middleton’s case. Furthermore, Markle’s request to get St George’s Chapel at Windsor Castle sprayed with scent before the arrival of the wedding guests was denied by the royal staff and resented by *The Daily Mail*, yet Middleton’s request to get scented candles, handwashes and lotions to Westminster Abbey during her and William’s wedding was approved by the staff and later

praised by *The Daily Mail*. However, the wedding locations do not differ from one another greatly. Westminster Abbey is a gothic church built as a monastery in 960, which was later re-endowed and greatly enlarged to make it a church in 1065. In the 13th century it was rebuilt in the gothic style of architecture and the rebuilding continued for decades (History of Westminster Abbey, 2020). St George's Chapel at Windsor Castle was built in the years 1475-1528, making the chapel newer than the abbey (St George's Chapel, 2018). The two buildings have the same purpose: both are important places of worship and both have functioned as the final resting place for royalty as well as places of many great royal events such as weddings and funerals. Therefore, the different responses that the Duchesses received for the scenting of the two wedding venues is disconcerting. In the 'Kicking up a stink' article, an anonymous source gives a statement about the reason for the denial of Markle's request: "I don't believe they said no because they thought it could affect the chapel in any way. It was simply the principle of the thing".

When answering the first research question about the language in the articles, the differences between the two articles were evident. The word choices, connections and the significance are lessened or emphasized in favour of Middleton, whereas the situation is opposite in Markle's case. This answers the second research question, regarding the conceptualization of the Duchesses: the overall understanding created of Middleton is a positive one as her commoner-turned-duchess story is highlighted alongside her good relationship with the common people, whereas the understanding of Markle is more negative, highlighting her 'otherness' within the royal family as well as her disagreements with the royal staff.

Flowers

The first article of the second article pair is titled "Why you can always say it with flowers", hereafter 'say it with flowers', and it discusses the flowers used at Middleton's wedding. The article was written by Lucy Benyon for *The Daily Express* and was published on 29 August 2011, four months after the event. The article introduces the flowers that were used in the Duchess' wedding bouquet and tells the meanings that the flowers might have in 'the language of flowers'. Most of the article discusses the book *The Language of Flowers* written by Vanessa Diffenbaugh, in which the main character, Victoria, communicates with others through flowers. Middleton is indirectly compared to Victoria in the article. Speaking through flowers was popular in the Victorian era and official guides were published about the language of flowers. However, 'say it with flowers' has no mention of this as it only discusses Diffenbaugh's book, a work of fiction.

The article discussing Markle's wedding day flowers is titled "Royal wedding: How Meghan Markle's flowers may have put Princess Charlotte's life at risk" and it will later be referred to as

‘Princess Charlotte’s life at risk’. It was written by Amalie Henden and was published in *The Daily Express* on 13 October 2019, a year and five months after the wedding. The flowers used in Markle’s bouquet and in the flower crowns of Princess Charlotte and Markle’s other bridesmaids were described in the article. One of the flowers used in both the bouquet and the flower crowns is called lily of the valley. According to the article, the flower is highly poisonous and, therefore, having it around children and pets is unsafe. Markle’s decision to use the flower in the flower crowns of the bridesmaids could be considered dangerous according to the article. The toxicity of the flower is elaborated further in the article, which suggests that Markle’s decision to use the flower is considered risky and irresponsible. However, the article mentions that other royal brides have also used the same flower in their weddings, one of them being Markle’s sister-in-law Kate Middleton. The final line of the article also brings forward the reason why Markle wanted to use the flower: it was a small tribute to Princess Diana, her husband’s mother, who loved the flower.

Three different names or titles referring to Middleton are identified with Gee’s *Vocabulary Tool* in ‘say it with flowers’: “Kate Middleton”, “Duchess of Cambridge” and “Kate”. In addition, the phrase “the commoner-turned-duchess” is used to refer to her as well, whereas the phrase “our royal newlyweds” is used to refer to both Middleton and her husband. The use of “the commoner-turned-duchess” again reinforces Middleton’s past and highlights her background as a commoner, which was also done in ‘Ladies in waiting’. Benyon’s decision to use the phrase “our royal newlyweds” also brings the royal couple closer to the readers with the use of the word “our”.

Middleton’s wedding bouquet is described as “modest” and “like the bride herself [...] effortlessly elegant and understated”. Here Middleton herself is being compared to her bouquet in a rather positive sense. This description can be connected to Middleton’s celebrity princess brand that was studied by Logan et al. Her modest bouquet and effortless elegance are praised in the article and they are associated with the ‘Humble Kate’ face of the celebrity princess brand (Logan et al., 2013, p. 380). ‘Say it with flowers’ states that “behind that modest posy lay a secret story”, sparking the readers’ interest as they want to read further in order to discover what this “secret” is. The significance of the ‘secret’ is emphasised with Benyon’s word choices, which the *SB Tool* helps to uncover. This ‘secret’ is then revealed as the article informs that Middleton “had painstakingly selected blooms with real meaning” as she is “evidently well-versed in the language of flowers, a little-known romantic relic from the 19th century”. Middleton is praised for her meaningful flower choices and a rather educated picture of the Duchess is presented as according to the article the language of flower is not well known. Then the article describes the flowers Middleton had on her bouquet and the meanings that each flower has in the language of flowers. Her bouquet included the following flowers: lilac, the lily of the valley, hyacinth, myrtle ivy and Sweet William.

The rest of the article is about Vanessa Diffenbaugh and her book *The Language of Flowers*, in which a young Californian girl Victoria communicates with other people with flowers. Diffenbaugh has been interviewed for the article and she states that “the Duchess of Cambridge has made a forgotten Victorian practice current again”, which again praises Middleton and her flower choices. Gee’s *CB Tool* reveals that Middleton and her use of flowers is compared to that of Victoria in *The Language of Flowers*, creating a connection between them. The connection is rather indirect as no clear mention of the connection exists in the article, but Middleton’s wedding bouquet flowers and Victoria’s flower choices in the book are both discussed in detail in the article making the reader connect the two. The word choices of the article are either neutral or positive and the only connection built in the article is that of Middleton and Victoria. The *SB Tool* and the *CB Tool* show that the significance of Diffenbaugh’s book is highlighted in the article as its main character is connected to Middleton and the flowers in the wedding bouquet. To answer the first research question, the language of the article appears positive towards Middleton, despite the article’s focus being more on Diffenbaugh’s book than on the Duchess.

The answer to the second research question is straightforward: ‘[S]ay it with flowers’ creates a positive conceptualization of Middleton and the flowers she has chosen to have in her wedding bouquet are also complimented for their meaningfulness. However, by using the *Not Just Saying Tool* the image of Middleton can be elaborated further. By writing that Middleton is familiar with the language of flower, an old Victorian tradition, a rather educated and sentimental image of Middleton is also created. However, regardless of the positive conceptualization of Middleton, a question that can be asked regarding the article is why Benyon wrote about Diffenbaugh and *The Language of Flowers*. The main topic of the article is truly the language of flowers, which would also explain why Diffenbaugh and her book are discussed excessively. Middleton was merely the one who made the language relevant again and her and her flowers were the connection required to write about the language of flowers in a newspaper. This is a possible reason why Benyon chose to write about the topic in the way that she did, which is noted using the *This Way Tool*. This would also explain, why only the meanings of the wedding flowers are discussed in the article and not their other qualities as in ‘Princess Charlotte’s life at risk’.

When applying The *Vocabulary Tool* on the ‘Princess Charlotte’s life at risk’ article, the names used of Meghan Markle are only “Meghan Markle”, “The Duchess of Sussex” or “Meghan”, making the use of names rather neutral. However, a few other word choices represent Henden’s own view of the situation. As Henden writes that Philippa Craddock was the florist, who made Markle’s bouquet, she states that she “was also responsible for the flower crowns”. Using the phrase “to be responsible for” makes the sentence negative in tone and puts Craddock in the

position of being the one who can be blamed for putting the toxic flowers into the flower crowns. The article then introduces the toxic flower lily of the valley. An Urban Agriculturist Bonnie L. Grant states in the article that “[t]he plant is so dangerous that ingestion could result in a trip to the emergency room, or in rare cases death”. According to this statement, the heading could be an exaggeration; even though, the flower is potentially dangerous, it is rarely deadly. Henden then writes: “[a]s Meghan’s bridesmaids were so young, having this flower on their heads could be considered a dangerous decision”, which puts the fault on Markle. However, blaming Markle is unreasonable, as her knowledge of the flowers might have not been so good. To her knowledge other brides had used the flower and, according to the article, Markle and her husband intended the flower as “a small tribute to Princess Diana”, making it likely that she did not consider the toxicity of the flower when choosing it. Therefore, why the flower’s poisonousness was not brought to Markle’s knowledge by the florist who made the flower crowns can be questioned. The possibility is, that the florist did not see the flowers as a danger to the bridesmaids, which is why Markle could have been unaware of the possible danger too. Another word choice related to this, is Henden’s use of the verb “reveal” in the quotation “Express.co.uk can now reveal the children’s crowns were made of flowers that can be deadly, especially for children”. The verb “reveal” makes the flower choice seem like it was a secret up until now, which was not the case.

Gee’s *SB Tool* also shows that the significance of the fact that other royal brides, such as Kate Middleton, Princess Eugenie and Camilla, Duchess of Cornwall, have used lily of the valley in their weddings is only mentioned in a sentence in the middle of the article. The other brides’ use of the flower is not elaborated any further and their decisions are not questioned lessening the significance of their use of the flower. However, whether the other brides used the flower near young children as in Markle’s wedding remains unknown. The *CB Tool* helps identify that the connection between Markle and the other royal brides who have used lily of the valley in their wedding bouquets is, therefore, mostly ignored, which highlights Markle’s significance as the bride who put her bridesmaids “at risk”. Henden describes that the fact that “[m]any young children put nonfood items in their mouths at one time or another” made using the flower in the flower crowns of the bridesmaids dangerous. However, none of the bridesmaids were harmed when they wore the flower crowns despite the potential risk. The *SB Tool*, therefore, shows that the significance of the danger is highlighted throughout the whole article. Overall, the vocabulary, the connections created as well as the altered significance of facts all contribute to Markle’s image negatively.

Next the *Vocabulary Tool* is used to analyse the heading of the article. As the reader sees the heading and reads the first lines of the article, they are alarmed as the wedding flowers “may have put Princess Charlotte’s life at risk”. Princess Charlotte is an innocent figure whom the public can

be interpreted to have an emotional connection to as she is a three-year old, whom the public has seen grow up as pictures of her have been in the newspapers ever since she was born. Therefore, the readers of the newspaper are concerned for her well-being seeing a heading like the article has. Why Henden chose such a heading can be analysed with the *This Way Tool*. The heading is meant to get more people to read the whole article, and in that sense the heading works. It does not reveal the exact reason why the flowers put the Princess's life "at risk", making the reader want to read further to find out.

Using Gee's *Not Just Saying Tool*, the motive of the article can be analysed. The article was published on 13th of October 2019 but Markle's wedding took place in May 2018, meaning that the article was written a year and five months after the wedding. This indicates that *The Daily Express* wanted to publish something negative about Markle to influence her public image. In another *The Daily Express* article written by Henden, she describes how the year 2019 was for Markle and her husband. In the article Henden (2019, December 28) writes that on the 2nd of October Markle had told ITV's Tom Bradley "how she had been 'struggling' with being in the spotlight since becoming a member of the Royal Family". The statement caused supportive and opposing responses, as some people considered Markle unable to handle the role of a royal, whereas others might have had a more sympathetic reaction as, for example, Princess Diana was known to have struggled with the press during her time as a member of the royal family. This statement could be the reason why 'Princess Charlotte's life at risk' was written when it was: Markle was in the news for her statement and the newspapers wanted to write more about her to gain readers and to influence her social image. The right-wing newspapers' reaction to the matter might have been more on the opposing side, making the articles written about Markle negative, to influence her image negatively.

According to the article, the Buckingham Palace "has chosen not to comment on the matter", making it seem as if Palace did not want to comment on Markle's wedding flowers and the possible risk they put Princess Charlotte in. However, it might also mean that no comment from the Palace was included in the official releases of information, in which case the writer has wanted to emphasize how the royal family did not get involved in the matter. Regardless, Markle is not defended by the royal family even though it might have been possible as other royal brides have used the flower in their weddings. The reader might also interpret that as the royal family's view on the topic: they react indifferently to the negative articles written about Markle indicating that they do not want to get too involved in the matter. To conclude, the article is written a year and five months after the wedding, but only 11 days after the newspaper was criticised by Markle. The timing could be an indication of the reporter wanting to find something controversial to write about Markle in order to influence her public image negatively. Furthermore, the article does create an

irresponsible impression of Markle, as the potential danger that her wedding flowers caused was highlighted in the article.

The articles written about the wedding flowers of the Duchesses are very different, especially regarding the reportage about the wedding bouquets. In ‘Princess Charlotte’s life at risk’ the qualities of the wedding flowers are highlighted whereas ‘say it with flowers’ emphasized their meaning, which makes the emphasise very different in the articles despite the Duchesses using the same flowers. Through this a similar impact is noticed as in the first article pair: Middleton’s conceptualization is affected positively whereas Markle’s is affected negatively.

4.2 Pregnancies

Similar to the Duchesses’ weddings, their pregnancies are also widely presented in the media. According to Allen et al. (2015) “[c]elebrity pregnancies and motherhood are collective cultural experiences, historically subject to a gaze that converts private affairs into public matter” (p. 5). They also argue that in online spaces, “the pregnant body becomes public property” (Allen et al., 2015, p. 10). Therefore, a pregnant celebrity - in this case, a pregnant member of the royal family - cannot avoid the attention that their pregnancies attract. Middleton’s and Markle’s actions as well as their appearance during their pregnancies were widely discussed in the tabloid newspapers. The research material of this thesis includes four articles written about the Duchesses’ pregnancies. The first two articles discuss the pregnancies, and the emphasis is on how the two women act and hold their baby bumps while they are pregnant. The other two are about eating avocados whilst pregnant.

Baby bumps

The first article discussing Middleton’s pregnancy and her baby bump is titled “Not long to go! Pregnant Kate tenderly cradles her baby bump while wrapping up her royal duties ahead of maternity leave – and William confirms she’s due ‘any minute now’” and it will later be referred to as ‘Not long to go!’. The article was written by Siofra Brennan and Rebecca English and was published by *The Daily Mail* on 21 March 2018. The article discusses and describes how Kate Middleton attended a symposium at the Royal Society of Medicine in London while she was heavily pregnant. The article describes this as her penultimate engagement before she starts her maternity leave. The article discusses the Duchess’ busy schedule as well as her appearance alongside the events of the symposium.

The article that discusses Meghan Markle’s baby bump is titled “Why can’t Meghan Markle keep her hands off her bump? Experts tackle the question that has got the nation talking: Is it pride,

vanity, acting – or a new age bonding technique?”. The article will later be referred to as ‘Why can’t Meghan Markle keep her hands off her bump?’. The writer of the article is left anonymous as the writer is only titled as “Mail on Sunday reporter”, but the article was published by *The Daily Mail* on 26 January 2019. ‘Why can’t Meghan Markle keep her hands off her bump?’ attempts to answer the question of why Markle keeps holding her baby bump during her pregnancy. According to the article the topic has got the nation talking. The article names six different types of embrace toward her bump by Markle and fourteen different ‘experts’ are interviewed in the article to get their opinion on the topic. The people interviewed view the bump holding from different perspectives and have very different opinions about it, some very positive and some very negative.

When using Gee’s *Vocabulary Tool* on the ‘Not long to go!’ article, it can be noted that many different names and titles are used to refer to Middleton: “Kate”, “Duchess”, “Duchess of Cambridge”, “The mother-to-be” and “The royal”. The phrases “pregnant Kate” or “pregnant Duchess” appeared very often in the text as well. Middleton’s royal titles are used often as well as “the royal”, which makes it evident that her royal status is not questioned in any way. Many word choices regarding Middleton’s appearance, pregnancy and career in the article are very positive. Regarding her appearance, Middleton is said to have looked “radiant”, “glowing” and “blooming” while attending symposium at Royal Society of Medicine in London. Middleton is also said to have given “a cheerful wave to onlookers as she made her way to her car”, which gives the impression that she happily greets common people, which again supports the “People’s Kate” face of the celebrity princess brand introduced by Logan et al. Like the aforementioned adjectives, a great deal of the text discussing Middleton’s appearance was related to her pregnancy. For example, the phrase “[s]till rocking her heels!” was used to describe a picture of Middleton wearing her “Gianvito Rossi pumps” at the event. She was also praised for not letting her upcoming delivery stop her from wearing heels. Later in the article, when Middleton’s outfit was discussed, Middleton was said to have been able to fit into regular clothes throughout her pregnancy”. Allen et al. (2015) discuss Middleton’s “neat and hardly visible bump” in their article and describe her bump as a signal of her respectable maternity and maternal body (p. 7). Thus, Middleton’s pregnant body is viewed as the ideal pregnant body as its changes remain small to the point that she is able to fit into her regular clothes during her pregnancy. As she represents the ideal, her bump and appearance are praised and many pictures of her are included in the article. Therefore, the vocabulary regarding Middleton’s pregnancy and her pregnant body is positive.

Already in the heading of the article Middleton’s pregnancy is mentioned as she is said to be “due [to give birth] ‘any minute now’”. Using Gee’s *SB Tool* shows that the phrase in the heading increases the significance of the pregnancy in the article. The *SB Tool* also suggests that the

significance of Middleton's pregnancy and her pregnant body are increased in the article, as Middleton attending the event in London receives less attention than her pregnancy. Furthermore, image descriptions and the heading, seem to include a lot more discussion on Middleton's appearance than on the event, which again increases the significance of her appearance and pregnancy. The *CB Tool* reveals that a connection between Middleton and the Queen is made in the article. An image of Middleton taken at the at the Royal Society of Medicine during the symposium is placed next to an image of the Queen that was taken at a polo match at Windsor in 1973. Their outfits have similar colouring and similar styles, which is why the connection is built. The image description says that "[t]he Duchess seemed to have taken inspiration from a fashion icon in her green outfit", the Queen being the fashion icon. This connection reinforces Middleton's position as a royal as similarities between her and the Queen are highlighted in a positive manner. Overall, the vocabulary used in the article as well as the reinforcement of the significance of her pregnancy and the connection built between her and the Queen affect Middleton's public image positively.

The writers could have concentrated more on the actual event when choosing a heading for the article, but Brennan and English decided to focus on Middleton's pregnancy instead. Through the *This Way Tool*, a possible reason for this is found: people are more interested in Middleton's pregnancy and her style than they are of her royal duties, which is why the heading focuses on the pregnancy rather than the event. Regardless, Middleton's career and her royal duties are also discussed in detail in the article. According to the article, Middleton "continues her busy schedule of royal duties ahead of birth", giving the impression that she is handling the pregnancy well and that she is able to continue working. Allen et al. (2015) suggest that "austerity's ideal mother must not fully retreat, but must carefully balance her career with childcare", indicating that ideally an expecting mother should be able to continue working during her pregnancy as well as after it (p. 11). 'Not long to go!' mentions that "[d]espite the impending birth, Kate has had her busiest start of the year yet" as she has had 38 official engagements within three months. This reinforces the image of her being a successful woman who fits the image of an ideal mother introduced by Allen et al.

While attending the symposium at Royal Society of Medicine "the Duchess gave a speech saying teenagers should be taught parenting and relationship skills so they could be prepared in later life". The speech was included in the article as a whole and was accompanied by Professor Peter Fonagy's comments. Fonagy, chief executive of Anna Freud National Centre for Children and Families, "describes the Duchess as the person 'who has done more to turn the tide of stigma around mental health more than any other single individual that [he] could name'" and continues that "she has also changed all [their] way of thinking by her intelligent questioning and crystal-clear

focus". Fonagy's comments about Middleton focus on Middleton's success in the field of mental health work as well as the way people respect her. This, once again, contributes to the ideal maternal feminine that includes the ability to balance the career with childcare and reinforces the positive image of a successful and caring royal that the newspaper is creating of Middleton.

The reason why the article concentrates on Middleton's pregnancy and appearance, will be analysed using the *This Way Tool*. Arguably, one possible reason for this is that the readers of *The Daily Mail* are more interested in the Duchess' pregnancy and appearance than they are in her royal engagements. Using the *Not Just Saying Tool* the possible reasons why *The Daily Mail* publishes such articles and what the newspaper is trying to accomplish by doing so can be analysed. Writing articles about Middleton's ideal maternal body and her good work ethic during her pregnancy influence the brand of the royal family positively, which is why right-wing newspapers write such articles about Middleton. This would also fit the values of *The Daily Mail* that is one of Britain's right-wing newspapers, which are often considered more royalist than the rest. These positive articles show that Middleton is "celebrated as a role model for young women and mothers" (Allen et al., 2015, p. 7). The way Middleton continues to handle royal engagements is viewed positively, as it reinforces the ideal maternal feminine that Middleton represents even if they are overshadowed by Middleton's appearance, which also meets the requirements of the ideal maternal body.

'Why can't Meghan Markle keep her hands off her bump?' is an article in which several different people's opinions are shared about Markle holding her baby bump. Gee (1999) argues in his book *An Introduction to Discourse Analysis: Theory and Method* that "to understand anything fully you need to know *who* is saying it and *what* the person saying it is trying to do" (s. 2). Therefore, the numerous sources used in the article should be inspected closely. The identities of the 'experts' are very influential, and they affect the way the reader interprets their statements. Despite the obvious differences in the experts' professions, all their opinions and views are equally presented.

Out of the fourteen 'experts' interviewed for the article, four gave a negative statement of Markle's baby bump holding and they were Liz Jones, MoS columnist; Jo Elvin, Editor of *You Magazine*; Alison Jackson, photographer and Katie Nichol, royal author. Out of the four, Jones and Elvin were quite vocal about their opinions, which is studied through the *Vocabulary Tool*. In the article Jones compares Markle cradling her bump to 'Baby on Board' stickers that can be seen in the back of cars and Elvin admits that she finds the cradling annoying. She also criticizes Markle for being "so fixed into a one singular, rigid pose that it's becoming uncomfortable to watch" later saying "[i]t's all really Baby Bump Barbie". Elvin is also the expert who refers to Markle as "Duchess of Showbiz" and claims that Markle is constantly searching for a photo-opportunity. At the end of her statement

Elvin advises Markle to “take the ‘world’s only pregnant woman!’ vibe down a notch or two”. Using the *Vocabulary Tool*, the “Baby Bump Barbie” and “Duchess of Showbiz” are identified as disrespectful titles used about Markle making Elvin’s statement aggressive. The *CB Tool* reveals that Elvin’s use of “Baby Bump Barbie” creates a connection between Markle and Barbie, which cannot be considered as a positive connection within the context of the phrase.

One of the experts, Alexandra Shulman, MoS columnist, is somewhere in between the negative and positive spectrum: on the one hand, she is saying that Markle “appears to indulge [in touching of the baby bump] more than most”, making Markle’s actions sound excessive compared to the average pregnant woman. On the other hand, however, Shulman says that Markle “is using her bump as a way to keep her hands calm, while showing how protective she is”, which can be considered a positive expression and may also be interpreted as criticism of the press explaining why she isn’t calm and feels the need to be “protective”. Using the *CB Tool* suggests that the connection created between Markle’s actions while pregnant and the actions of other pregnant women in Shulman’s first statement seems to be ignored as her baby bump holding is analysed as a peculiar action.

The rest of the experts are Katharine Graves, hypnobirthing expert; Harry Witchel, body language expert; Julianne Boutaleb, psychologist; Linda Kelsey, former editor of Cosmopolitan; Dee Cannon, acting coach; Bonita Turner, editor of Junior Magazine; Tamara Bugembe, paediatrician; Holli Rubin, body image expert and Renee Rispin, stylist & blogger. All their statements are positive or neutral and they do not consider Markle’s baby bump holding to be abnormal in any way. Cannon, the acting coach, does not think Markle is acting her bump holding, as it would be bad acting, since the holding of the bump is seen as a cliché when playing a pregnant woman. Cannon argues that “when a woman is doing that in real life, you can choose to interpret it in either a positive or a negative way – either it’s subconscious, nurturing, maternal gesture or they’re proud and overly protective”. This is exactly the case with Middleton and Markle as the bump holding is seen as a positive gesture for Middleton, but when Markle is doing it, her motives are questioned. Gee’s *SB Tool* shows that Markle’s baby bump holding is made sound more significant than it actually is. Several ‘experts’ have been interviewed to give a statement on the topic, which also increases the significance of the gesture. The writer of the article also over-analyses the holding, making it seem like it is something abnormal for a pregnant woman to do.

The order in which the information is granted in the article plays a role as well. The most negative statements are being quoted in the heading and they appear early in the article, making the reader see them first, in other words, the writer is emphasizing their significance. As the reader sees the heading, their immediate thought is to consider whether Markle holding her baby bump could be

“pride, vanity, acting or a new age bonding technique”, even if they have not thought about it before. All the ‘experts’ in the article are mentioned by name and they are, therefore, speaking as people, who know about the topic in hand. However, their professions and the actual knowledge of the topic must be taken into consideration when evaluating the trustworthiness of their opinions. The ‘experts’ who gave negative statements were a MoS columnist, an Editor of *You Magazine*, a photographer and a royal author by profession. They have no academic knowledge of pregnancy and the act of holding one’s baby bump, which is why their opinions might not be considered as scientifically accurate as those of the researchers of the field for example. Regardless of this, their statements were brought forward and quoted in the heading, emphasizing the negative comments regarding the topic despite the lack of scientific proof. Overall, the vocabulary in the article varies throughout the article as the opinions of different people are presented. The tone of the article seems to shift from negative to positive as the negative opinions are presented first. The significance of the baby bump holding is increased as the gesture is analysed in the article by several different people and the connections created are both negative and positive depending on the view of the ‘expert’ whose opinion is in question. Therefore, a clear image of the language is difficult to determine, but nevertheless, both the heading and the beginning of the article can be interpreted to be negative in tone.

The *This Way Tool* can be used to determine why the information was presented in the article the way that it was. By presenting the negative views of the ‘experts’ in the heading, a negative impression of Markle is created, which indicates that the meaning of the article was to reinforce the negative image of Markle. Despite the negative views, most of the opinions were positively toned, which is why the heading does not seem to describe the article effectively and it functions primarily as ‘clickbait’. Thus, the significance of the positive statements is ignored, by highlighting negative statements to make the article sound more judgemental than it is in reality.

Markle’s maternity is essentially the centre of discussion in the article and similarly to Kim Kardashian, Markle is “located outside of the realm of respectable ‘pure white’ middle-class femininity” due to her race (Allen et al., 2015, p. 8). Allen et al. (2015) recognise that “black female celebrities [...] become objects of contempt within young-people’s meaning-making about contemporary inequalities” alongside the claim that “austerity has afforded opportunities to reboot classed and racialised discourses that have historically positioned black and working-class mothers outside of the hegemonic ideal of white, middle-class maternity” (p. 9). This discourse that positions black and working-class mothers outside of the ideal image of maternity contributes to the stigmatizes discourses revolved around black motherhood, which has been rebooted within contexts of austerity. Furthermore, Markle’s maternity as a non-white woman is not presented as desirably as

Middleton's ideal white maternity: judgement is targeted to Markle regarding her behaviour while pregnant whereas Middleton receives only praise for both her appearance and actions. The *Not Just Saying Tool* provides the means to analyse the meanings behind the representation of Markle's maternity and to connect Allen et al.'s findings to the context of Middleton and Markle. Therefore, as Markle's maternal body is not seen as the ideal due to her race, Markle is the target of judgement and disapproval in 'Why can't Meghan Markle keep her hands off her bump?'. To conclude, the article pair discussing the pregnancies and how the Duchesses' pregnant bodies are presented introduces a new aspect that affects the images that are created of the Duchesses: the notion that the ideal white maternal feminine that is presented by Middleton is more desirable than the mixed-race maternal feminine that Markle represents.

Avocados

The first article of the avocado article pair is titled "Kate's morning sickness cure? Prince William gifted with an avocado for pregnant Duchess" will later be referred to as 'Kate's morning sickness cure'. This article was written by Richard Palmer and published by *The Daily Express* on 14 September 2017. The article is about Prince William's visit to Wallesey, Merseyside and meeting the members of British Sub-Aqua club. During this visit a young boy named Archie Weatherall gave Prince William an avocado as a gift to give to his wife. Middleton was known to have suffered from severe morning sickness during all her pregnancies and the avocado was meant to help her with the discomfort. The article first discusses the gifting of the avocado and Middleton's pregnancy, but the rest of the article is more focused on William and the trip.

The other avocado article is titled "Meghan Markle's beloved avocado linked to human rights abuse and drought, millennial shame", later referred to as 'Meghan Markle's beloved avocado'. The article is written by Carly Read and it was published by *The Daily Express* on 23 January 2019. The topic of the article is the popularity of avocados and how the fruit is produced unethically, which has caused harm in Mexico. In the article, Meghan Markle is being accused of committing "an avocado faux pas" for liking the fruit and using it in her cooking.

Middleton is referred to as "Duchess", "Duchess of Cambridge", "Kate" and "Kate Middleton" in the article 'Kate's morning sickness cure', which is identified by using the *Vocabulary Tool*. The avocado that was gifted is described as "a [possible] new panacea for her severe morning sickness" but the article does not tell whether it actually helped with her morning sickness or not. The word 'panacea' is also a bold word to use as no proof of it curing Middleton's morning sickness is provided. Middleton is told to have been "struck down" with hyperemesis gravidarum, which is a

“condition characterized by severe nausea, vomiting, weight loss, and electrolyte disturbance” (American Pregnancy Association, 2019). According to the American Pregnancy Association (2019), “[m]ild cases are treated with dietary changes, rest, and antacids” but more severe cases “often require a stay in the hospital so that the mother can receive fluid and nutrition through an intravenous line”. ‘Kate’s morning sickness cure’ does not elaborate on Middleton’s condition. Overall, the article discusses Prince William’s trip more than it does Middleton, which is why most of the article is not relevant to this study. However, despite the article focusing on Prince William and his trip, the heading of the article revolves around Middleton. The avocado is discussed right at the start of the article, which, using the *SB Tool*, indicates that the significance of Middleton’s pregnancy and the gifting of the avocado are increased. Overall, the language of the article is neutral and supportive towards the royal couple, which answers the first research question.

The *This Way Tool* identifies that the heading of the article could have concentrated more on Prince William’s trip than it did on Middleton’s pregnancy, but Palmer chose to emphasize the pregnancy. The reason for this could be the desire to write about Middleton’s pregnancy as it interests the readers. Using Gee’s *Not Just Saying Tool*, the motive of the article can be analysed. As it was a little boy who gifted Prince William the avocado to give to his wife, the article sparks sympathy in the reader. This is reinforced by the article explaining that the boy’s mother is also suffering from morning sickness. The *CB Tool* identifies this connection created between Middleton and Weatherall’s mother. The connection again brings Middleton closer to the common people, emphasising the ‘People’s Kate’ image. Middleton’s condition and severe morning sickness are also factoring that spark sympathy in the reader. The meaning of hyperemesis gravidarum is not explained in the article, which can also make the condition sound more severe than it already is, causing more worry and sympathy in the reader. After receiving the avocado from Weatherall, Prince William is said to have told the boy that he would “take it to her and see what happens” and wished good luck to the boy’s mother with her morning sickness. This gives a very positive and sympathetic image of Middleton’s husband, and he is also called “a man of the people” later in the article, which is a reference to his mother, Princess Diana, who was dubbed the people’s princess by Tony Blair after her death. To answer the second research question, the conceptualization of Middleton is positive in the article as her connection to the common people is emphasized.

When analysing ‘Meghan Markle’s beloved avocado’ with the help of the *Vocabulary Tool*, the use of the title “avocado on toast whisperer” is noticeably used of Markle in addition to the names “Meghan Markle”, “Markle”, “Meghan” and “The pregnant Duchess of Sussex,”. This title is a very odd choice of words, but it emphasizes the connection created between Markle and avocados. Markle’s liking of avocados is also made evident with several other word choices. For example, she

is said to be “wolfing down” the fruit, which gives the impression that she eats a great deal of them. The article begins with the notion that Markle “has committed an avocado faux pas” as avocados have been “linked to drugs, drought and even murder”. With the *CB Tool*, a connection made between Markle and the unethical production process of avocados is identified in the article. The increase in the number of avocado consumers has led to water shortages, illegal deforestation and other environmental devastation, which are mentioned in the article, and as Markle’s avocado consumption is described to be high, Read seems to shift the blame onto the Duchess.

Using the *SB Tool* indicates that Markle is made to seem more significant regarding the situation than the average avocado consumer, which is not the case in reality. Her “avocado faux pas” is later referred to as “the shocking revelation” again reinforcing her significance regarding the issue. The article explains how this “shocking revelation” came after an old friend of Markle’s “shared an image on Instagram showing the royal’s culinary skills involving avocado on toast served on silver platters with black tea”. The article suggests that the photo revealed Markle’s involvement with the production of avocados. Furthermore, Markle’s liking of avocados is described further as she has said in her Grenfell cookbook how “an avocado and chill dip was a favourite of hers”. The *This Way Tool* raises the question of why Markle was discussed in the article as the avocado consumption and its effects on Mexico could have been written about without involving Markle. Using Allen et al.’s (2015) argument, it can be noted that like Kardashian Markle does not fit the “more desirable [form] of maternal feminine” as her status as a mixed-race pregnant woman is considered inferior to the white maternal feminine that is considered the ideal in Britain (p. 7). Thus, the disapproving attitudes targeted at Markle, which were also identified by Mahfouz, are visible in ‘Meghan Markle’s beloved avocado’. Furthermore, Carly Read might have wished to encourage this disapproval by writing about the pregnant Duchess in a negative light. In addition, the *Not Just Saying Tool* indicates that Read is trying to moralise Markle’s meal choices by linking her with the horrors of the avocado production. By doing so, she is also reinforcing conceptualization that the newspaper is trying to create of Markle.

To answer the first research question, the language in ‘Kate’s morning sickness cure’ can be considered neutral or positive whereas the language in ‘Meghan Markle’s beloved avocado’ is more judgmental and negative in tone. In the article pair the significance of the Duchesses is increased in articles that are not necessarily about them. In ‘Kate’s morning sickness cure’ this was done in order to make the readers sympathize with Middleton and to better the image of her and her husband as the royals of the people. In ‘Meghan Markle’s beloved avocado’ Markle’s significance is increased to connect her with the negative aspects of the avocado production to conceptualize her negatively, possibly due to her not fitting the ideal image of white maternal feminine and through

that, not fitting the brand of the royal family. Therefore, *The Daily Express* conceptualizes the two Duchesses very differently, which was also visible in the earlier article pairs.

4.3 Christenings

Two articles discussing the christenings of the Duchesses' sons will be analysed next. One of the articles discusses the christening of Prince Louis, Middleton and her husband's third child whereas the other article discusses the christening of Archie, the first child of Markle and her husband. The article discussing the christening of Prince Louis is titled "Beaming Kate gazes lovingly at sleeping Prince Louis as she and William attend his christening in their first appearance as a family of five (but the Queen misses big day)" and it will later be referred to as 'Kate gazes lovingly at sleeping Prince'. This article was written by Stephanie Linning and it was published by *The Daily Mail* on 9 July 2018. 'Kate gazes lovingly at sleeping Prince' is a very long article describing the events of the Prince's christening in detail. Queen Elizabeth and her husband the Duke of Edinburgh could not attend the christening but everyone else in the family, as well as Prince Louis' six godparents, were present. The article mainly discusses Prince William and Kate Middleton alongside their children, but Kate's sister Pippa Middleton, as well as Prince Harry and Meghan Markle receive quite a lot of the attention in the article as well.

The article that discusses the christening of Markle's son Archie is titled "Revealed: The Queen won't be at Archie's christening because Meghan, Harry and the mystery godparents planned to baptize him TODAY but had to rearrange when they realised Her Majesty and Prince Charles were already busy" and it will later be referred to as 'The Queen won't be at Archie's christening'. The article was written by Rebecca English and it was published by *The Daily Mail* on 4 July 2019. The article discusses the controversy surrounding the planning of Archie's christening as the Queen would not be able to attend the christening. The christening was rescheduled so that Prince Charles could attend. The article also discusses how the couple wishes to hold a private christening for their son unlike Middleton and her husband who have let the media cover each of their children's christenings. Markle and her husband also want the identities of Archie's godparents to remain private, which is discussed in the article as well.

When discussing the article 'Kate gazes lovingly at sleeping Prince' through the *Vocabulary Tool*, evidently the article uses several different names to refer to Middleton: "Beaming Kate", "Duchess of Cambridge", "Mother-of-three Kate", "A beaming Duchess of Cambridge", "Proud mother Kate", "Kate", "The mother-of-three" and "the Duchess". All these phrases are neutral or positive in tone. Markle was also discussed in the article and mostly positive things are written about her. However, two titles that have not been used in the earlier articles were used when referring to her:

“aunt Meghan” and “the Suits star”. The first phrase, “aunt Meghan” is demeaning due to the use of lower case in the word ‘aunt’, which was used in the sentence “[h]ere comes aunt Meghan!” as the article discussed the Sussexes’ arrival at the christening. The phrase “the Suits star”, referring to Markle’s former career as an actress, is a debatable choice of words as Markle had already married into the Royal family at the time of the christening, making her the Duchess of Sussex. The word choice is interesting because there was no reason for the reporter to mention the *Suits* in the context of the christening. Using the *This Way Tool* by Gee, the motive for the use can be analysed. A possible reason why Linning decided to use the phrase was to remind the reader of Markle’s background. The same is done by reminding the reader several times about Markle’s baptism into the Church of England by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Justin Welby, who presided over the christening as well. By highlighting Markle’s background, Linning is trying to remind the reader of Markle’s differences in contrast to the rest of the royal family. The motives behind the demeaning titles used of Markle as well as the constant emphasizing of her background could be caused by the prejudice that is targeted towards her due to her heritage. Mahfouz (2018) argues that “[t]he fact that blood purity is inherent to the royal tradition makes the idea of royals marrying people of mixed heritage difficult to accept both by the public and by the press” (p. 247). These underlying racist attitudes are visible in this article as well as in the earlier articles that discussed Markle.

Using the *Vocabulary Tool*, the phrases used to describe Middleton and her actions can be considered very positive in ‘Kate gazes lovingly at sleeping Prince’ and the article includes plenty of these phrases. For example, the sentence “Proud mother Kate, 36, gazes adoringly at her 11-week-old son” is very positive toned and it reinforces Middleton’s good image as a mother. In the article the words “beaming” and “beamed” are also used often when discussing the Duchess and her being a proud mother is also mentioned often. In addition to Middleton herself, her family is also praised. The family of the Cambriges is pictured as a perfect family as “they made their first public appearance as a family-of-five” at the christening. Prince William is pictured holding hands with their eldest children, Prince George and Princess Charlotte, whereas Middleton was holding their youngest, Prince Louis, in her arms. This positive image of the family is reinforced in the article frequently. As Allen et al. suggest, Middleton fits the ideal image of white maternal feminine, which is why the language that is used of her is mostly positive. Allen et al. (2018) also state “homemaking and childcare as [being coded] as sites of happiness and moral worth” which can be found in “a distinctly middle-class and heterosexual family unit (and planned parenting)” (p. 7). In the case of Middleton, all these three aspects are fulfilled, as her commoner background and the image of her happy family are highlighted in the article and this also shows why Middleton is

possibly seen in a positive light: she represents the ideal image of a mother and thus, she is a valuable member of the royal family as she affects the family's brand positively.

The way Linning writes about the Queen's absence in 'Kate gazes lovingly at sleeping Prince' the christening is also a point of interest. The issue is mentioned already in the heading: "(but the Queen misses the big day)". Linning chose to include the Queen's absence in the heading but decided to put it in brackets. The use of the *SB Tool* suggests that the brackets were used to lessen the significance of the Queen's absence. Later in the article the issue is discussed further as it is said that "[t]he Queen and the Duke of Edinburgh missed the small family affair" and "decision is understood not to have taken on health grounds, and to have been mutually agreed by the Queen and the Cambridges some time ago". This gives the impression that both parties were aware of the royal couple's absence and it was not a problem for any of them, lessening the significance of the absence. Later in the article the Queen is said to have "a busy week ahead" with her royal duties and the Duke of Edinburgh is explained to have retired from public duties. Gee's *Not Just Saying Tool* suggests that these aspects were mentioned in order to further emphasize that the Queen's absence is an understandable decision. This again would be done to maintain the positive image that *The Daily Mail* is creating of Middleton and her husband, as them disagreeing about such a matter with the Queen would have been bad for their image. Overall, the language of the article is supportive towards Middleton and her family, but some of the titles used of Markle in the article are demeaning. These notions contribute to the previously identified patterns regarding the conceptualizations of the Duchesses: positive Middleton and negative Markle.

'The Queen won't be at Archie's christening' was written by Rebecca English, who was also the author of 'Kicking up the stink!'. Using the *Vocabulary Tool*, similar provocative word choices are found in both of her articles. In 'The Queen won't be at Archie's christening' Markle is always referred to as "Meghan", "Meghan Markle" or "Duchess of Sussex", which are all very neutral word choices. However, when discussing the heading of the article, several provocative vocabulary choices are included in it: "Revealed:", "mystery godparents", "planned to baptize him TODAY". Using the *SB Tool*, it can be noted that these word choices have been chosen to build up the significance of the topic. The Queen's absence is considered a serious issue in the article, and the decisions of the Sussexes are questioned, which is already visible in the heading. The article explains that even after the rescheduling of the christening, the Queen will not be able to attend due to her calendar being full of royal duties. The article makes it evident that the christening was planned in haste, which made the Queen unable to attend as her duties for the week were "non negotiable" due to their importance. English writes that the Queen "decided to bow out graciously" so that the christening could be held as planned. English also writes that "sources close to Harry and

Meghan insist the Queen is ‘happy’ with the decision and was understanding of their keenness to see their son christened sooner rather than later”. However, the way English uses single quotation marks in “‘happy’”, makes it sound as if English herself does not agree with the statement, making the reader question its validity as well. The Queen not being able to attend all christenings of her great-grandchildren is mentioned in the article, but English states that “it is understood that she would have liked to be present for the first big celebration for Harry’s first child”. By writing this, English emphasizes the meaning that attending the christening would have had for the Queen, making the reader feels sorry for her as she could not attend the event. This again has a negative influence on the image of Markle and her husband, who “made plans with their son’s new godparents and the duchess’s mother” before consulting whether Prince Charles or the Queen had prior engagements. Markle and her husband are also said to have “surprised the senior staff at Buckingham Palace, who feel that the duke and duchess should have planned the day better”, which emphasises the importance of the Queen’s attendance. The Queen is the head of the royal family as well as the monarchy, making her very important for the royalist writers and readers of the newspaper. Gee’s *CB Tool* reveals that a negative connection between the Queen and the Sussexes is created: the Sussexes do not seem to care enough about the presence of the Queen to reschedule the christening. From the royalists’ point of view, this appears very ominous and disrespectful, therefore, influencing the conceptualization of the Sussexes negatively.

Markle and her husband’s desire not to follow tradition and to “[strike] out on a different path from other members of the Royal Family” are told to have many people’s support. However, a staff member of Buckingham Palace states that the couple “should not do that without regard for tradition” and that “they should have been more accommodating about the date”. Another untraditional aspect regarding the christening is that Markle and her husband wish to keep the identities of their son’s godparents secret, yet English is attempting to guess who some of the godparents are later in the article. The public access to the proceedings at Windsor Castle as well as the TV cameras recording the royal family arriving at the christening were denied by the Sussexes. Their decisions are criticized by the Dean of Chelmsford, Nicholas Henshall, who told the BBC that “[b]aptism should never be private. It’s a public demonstration of God’s love.” Henshall is the most senior figure of the Church of England, right after the Queen, and by mentioning that, English emphasises his authority, which is identified with the *SB Tool*.

The Sussexes and their decisions are compared to those of the Cambridges at the end of the article: “The Duke and Duchess of Cambridge allowed the media to cover each of their children’s christenings, as well as releasing family photographs afterwards”. Here English is building a connection between the couples in order to emphasise how differently they handled their children’s

christenings. Here the decision of the Cambridges is considered to be a better one as it follows traditions, whereas the Sussexes' decision does not. This comparison also highlights the differences between the two couples, and especially between the two women. Markle joining the royal family "has been said to represent a turning point for Britain as it has marked the departure from royal traditions", which is not accepted by those who support the traditions of the royal family (Mahfouz, 2018, p. 246). Therefore, Markle is an easy target to blame for the changing traditions, which is why the image that the press is creating of her is demeaning.

Despite the similar topic of the articles, the differences between 'Kate gazes lovingly at sleeping Prince' and 'The Queen won't be at Archie's christening' are very apparent: The Queen not attending the christening of Prince Louis is not considered a serious issue, whereas her not attending Archie's christening is. The situations themselves are not majorly different, but the reportage is: The Queen's absence in the context of Archie's christening is made the main topic of the article but in the context of Prince Louis' christening it was only mentioned in brackets in the heading and in a few sentences within the article. To answer the first research question, the language of 'Kate gazes lovingly at sleeping Prince' is positive towards Middleton but demeaning towards Markle. However, this demeaning language is hardly visible and therefore, the disapproval indicated towards her is indirect. In 'The Queen won't be at Archie's christening' the disapproval towards Markle and her husband's decision not to follow the royal tradition is visible more clearly in the language. As they are compared to the Cambridges in the article, a clear image of the Sussexes being inferior to the Cambridges is presented. Therefore, the second research question is answered similarly as in the context of the earlier articles: the way Markle is conceptualized is clearly more negative than Middleton's conceptualization.

5 Middleton and Markle on Twitter

This section of analysis will focus on analysing sentiments in the 180 tweets that were collected about the Duchesses. First, I will briefly introduce Twitter, sentiments, and freedom of speech, before moving on to discussing the tweets.

Twitter is a very popular social media platform, and it functions as a microblogging service. On Twitter users can post short status messages, called ‘tweets’ on their profile and these messages can be used to describe the events of one’s daily life or to express opinions about some popular topics that are being discussed on Twitter. The character limit of tweets was increased from 140 character to 240 in November 2017 and as the tweets collected for this thesis were written in the time period of 2011-2019, some of the tweets were still limited to 140 characters per tweet (Perez, 2018). However, according to Perez (2018), the character limit increase had little effect on the length of an average tweet. According to Nguyen et al. (2013) “microblogging services such as Twitter “have become an important platform for facilitating social interactions in modern society” and they “can be used to convey powerful ideas and allow the general population to follow [...] events in real-time” (p. 1). The tweets collected for this study also include examples of people commenting on an ongoing event in real time e.g. a royal wedding or a christening. Twitter allows people to share their own views and opinions with others and the use of hashtags, e.g. #royalchristening, and other keywords helps users to find tweets about a specific topic. When searching for tweets using keywords or hashtags, the Twitter algorithm is able to show the ‘top tweets’ for your search. Twitter describes the top tweets followingly:

Top Tweets are the most relevant Tweets for your search. We determine relevance based on the popularity of a Tweet (e.g., when a lot of people are interacting with or sharing via Retweets and replies), the keywords it contains, and many other factors. (Twitter Help Center, 2021)

The tweets collected for this study have been collected using the ‘top tweets’ algorithm in order to collect the most popular and relevant tweets regarding each topic.

The collected tweets will be analysed according to their sentiments. A sentiment is a view or opinion that is held or expressed and typically they have been analysed using sentiment analysis. In sentiment analysis, the aim is to automatically determine whether a text contains positive or negative sentiment (Taboada, 2016, p. 327). This is done either by using a machine learning method or the lexicon-based (dictionary-based) method. Sentiment analysis is typically applied to big data for the purpose of gaining information about quantitative data. Whilst this is a useful tool for gaining detailed information about the frequency of specific phrases or word, it assumes that language can be accepted at face value, and struggles to deal with polysemous words, irony and

sometimes even syntax. For instance, “I hate Kate’s hair” and “I hate that my hair isn’t as shiny as Kate’s” will both be tagged as having negative sentiments, even though the latter is actually praising Kate. This study looks at a far smaller number of tweets qualitatively to take into account such nuances.

In this study Gee’s tools for discourse analysis will be used to comprehend the different sentiments that appear in the tweets. The method used in this study is more similar to the lexicon-based method as the *Vocabulary Tool* is used to determine the sentiment orientation of the individual words in the text. In addition, larger sentence structures and meanings and sentiments behind the word choices will be analysed. Taboada (2016) notes the importance of word classes regarding sentiment:

Adjectives convey much of the subjective content in a text [...] Researchers have increasingly noticed, however, that a great deal of sentiment is conveyed through other parts of speech, such as nouns (*masterpiece, disaster*), verbs (*love, hate*), adverbs (*skillfully, poorly*), and phrases that contain those words (p. 329)

Thus, attention will be paid to all word classes and the sentiments the word choices indicate together. However, this study does differ from sentiment analysis because the labelling, coding and analysis of the data is done manually, not automatically with separate software. This manual approach is better for this study because the number of tweets is not very high, and working manually with the data enables the close inspection of each tweet while allowing the researcher to identify meanings and connections in the tweets that a computer program would not be able to do.

As sentiments are essentially emotions, primary and secondary emotions are relevant to this study. Primary emotions are essentially “reactions to external events”, such as feeling sad about a relative passing away or feeling happy about winning a competition (Christensen, 2010, np). An emotion is a secondary emotion “when you feel something about the feeling itself”, for example one might feel embarrassment for getting angry or shame for their anxiety (Christensen, 2010, np). Thus, the sentiments analysed in this study include both primary and secondary emotions. Furthermore, Gu et al. (2019) introduce the four basic emotions, “happiness, sadness, fear, and anger”, which are “internal states induced by [basic] bodily changes, and can in turn induce genetically ‘hardwired’ instinctual behaviors”. Out of the sentiments that are analysed in this thesis, admiration and excitement fall under the basic emotion of happiness, whereas anger itself is a basic emotion under which disgust and frustration fall. Gu et al. (2019) also suggest that some researchers consider disgust to be a basic emotion of its own. Thus, most sentiments that are identified in this study, are basic emotions, but similarly to other emotions, Gu et al. (2019) note that they also “differs in the intensity or pleasantness”. Significantly basic emotions are “thought to be universal as they are related to the most basic needs of the body, or the bodily instinctual needs”, which is why they “indicate satisfaction of instincts” (Gu et al., 2019). Therefore, tweets that express these sentiments

can be understood to project emotions that are universal and rely on instinct, making them good indicators of opinions the people on Twitter have about Middleton and Markle.

In addition to sentiment, freedom of speech is also an important factor that should be considered when analysing the tweets. According to the The Universal Declaration of Human Rights Article 19 “Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.” (United Nations, 1948). According to this, everyone has the right to express their opinion through any media and, what is relevant in this study, everyone has the right to express their opinions on Twitter. Twitter as a platform enables people to express their opinions about “people, products and events, as they happen” and share them with others (Bermingham & Smeaton, 2010, p. 1). It also enables discourse between Twitter users, which leads to people commenting on other people’s tweets and thus, opinions. Often people tend to be very passionate on Twitter and it shows in the language that people use. Emotions and sentiments are evident through not only word choices, but also punctuation and use of emoticons. Bermingham & Smeaton (2010) note that the role of punctuation in microblogs is important as “[punctuation is] being used specifically in microblog posts to express sentiment, perhaps as indicators for intonation” (p. 3). They also concluded that they found “classifying these short documents [microblogs] a much easier task than their longer counterparts, blogs” in terms of their sentiments (p. 4). This was because microblogs have “less opportunity for non-relevant information” because of the character limit of tweets and therefore, tweets have a higher density of sentiment information as people want to make their opinions heard (Bermingham & Smeaton, 2010, p. 3). Thus, the language on Twitter is often passionate and sentiments are often clearly visible.

Freedom of speech also contributes to the passionate language on Twitter as people are likely to expressing their own opinions more freely online. However, people expressing their opinions often results in people with differing opinions to comment on the expressed opinion, which creates conversations and sometimes even conflicts between Twitter users. Naturally, people are keen on defending their own opinion and explaining their views to others in hopes of gaining more supporters. However, this opinion defending is sometimes done through expressing judgement towards the opinions of others while one’s own opinion is deemed superior. This is visible in the data and will be discussed in detail in section 5.2, where examples of judgement will be provided.

Furthermore, this section of the analysis attempts to uncover how the neutral voice of the newspapers differs from the passionate Twitter voice. *The Daily Mail* and *The Daily Express* are newspapers that show a high level of sentiment and the language of the papers is not necessarily

neutral. However, the range of sentiments in the newspapers is not very broad and it seems to be limited to the positive sentiment creating the image of Middleton and the negative sentiments creating the image of Markle. Alongside official sources, such as the royals' websites and social media accounts, people read information about the family from newspapers. Often newspapers are people's only direct source of information when it comes to more controversial news about the royals that are often not mentioned in the official sources. Thus, the sentiments visible in the newspapers are being projected onto their readers. However, people's sentiments are not limited to the sentiments visible in the newspapers, which is why the tweets are expected to have a wider range of sentiments than the newspapers. Thus, the tweets essentially show how people understand the information that they have received from news sources.

While the corpus was collected, the form in which they were collected had to be taken into consideration. According to Taboada (2016) "[m]ost researchers perform a first-pass cleaning of the data, correcting spelling mistakes, removing hashtags and URLs, and in general making the text more like formal written text, which is what most taggers and parsers expect" (p. 327). All of this was not done for this research, however. Usernames, the user's URLs and the dates of the tweets have been collected for the corpus, but they will not be included in this thesis as they are irrelevant information. However, if a date of a specific tweet is relevant, it will be mentioned in the analysis. Usernames, however, are not relevant for this study and therefore, they will not be included. The content of the tweet itself will not be edited and spelling mistakes will not be corrected as the text will be analysed exactly as the writer wrote it. Thus, curse words and occasional inappropriate language should be expected to appear as part of the example tweets included in this thesis. Taboada (2016) goes on to say that in machine learning approaches of sentiment analysis "the very nature of online text is exploited as a feature", which is why the language of the tweets is not altered in anyway in this study either (p. 327). The nature of the online texts can provide more information about the sentiments that are included in the tweet and as Taboada (2016) continues "[t]he presence of capitalization and extra punctuation often indicates strong opinion, and can be added as a feature in classification" (p. 327). Thus, the example tweets will be analysed as they were originally written, and no alterations will be made to them.

After the rough coding of the tweets into categories by their sentiments, the corpus was further examined to form axial codes. For example, it was noted that most of the positive sentiments and the typically negative sentiment, *jealousy*, could all be coded under the same axial code, *admiration*. Then, Martin & White's idea, introduced by Taboada (2016) in her article was used to divide the sentiments into two categories: "Martin & White (2005) suggest that the expression of emotional states, or affect, comprises two further categories. The first one is the expression of

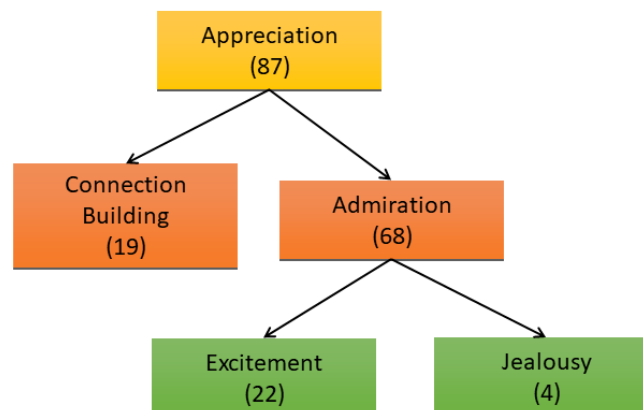
judgment toward other people, and the second is the expression of appreciation, or aesthetic opinion” (p. 326) Thus, the sentiments found in this study are further divided into two categories: *appreciation* and *judgement*. Taboada (2016) goes on to explain that “[t]ogether, affect, judgment, and appreciation capture how we convey our feelings and opinions, the object of study of sentiment analysis” (p. 326). This emphasises that these two categories of sentiment will be useful in this analysis as well, as the attempt is to analyse feelings and opinion, sentiments, that the tweets convey. The *appreciation* category of sentiments will include tweets that were coded with the labels *connection building* and *admiration*. *Admiration* will also include tweets labelled with *excitement* and *jealousy*. The *judgement* category will include the tweets labelled with the following sentiments: *disgust*, *frustration*, and *anger*. The category will also be divided by content, to make the analysis easier to follow. Thus, the category includes six sub-categories according to the target of the judgement. These targets are the following: Middleton, Markle, the royal family, media, other Twitter users and the double standards surrounding Middleton and Markle (see Figure 1).

5.2 Appreciation: finding connections and admiration

First appreciation will be analysed from the 180 tweets that have been collected for this study. Appreciation has been divided into two different section: *connection building* and *admiration*. Connection building was identified as a common way that people used to connect their own lives to the lives of Middleton and Markle. Connection building was also used to connect Middleton and Markle to other people and events, often to make a joke or to compare the Duchesses to other famous people. A total of 19 tweets show clear features of connection building. Out of the 19 tweets, 9 include clear connection to the writer’s own life, whereas the remaining 10 show signs of connection building between the Duchesses and other famous people.

Figure 2.

Tweet categorization, appreciation



Admiration is the other category that falls under appreciation. Admiration was a very common sentiment to appear in the data as 42 tweets were identified to have admiration in them. However, this study also identified admiration to have two subcategories, excitement and jealousy, both of which increase the total of tweets in the admiration category. Tweets including excitement bring a total of 22 tweets into the category whereas jealousy brings a total of four, bringing the total of tweets in the admiration category to 68 tweets (see Figure 2).

Thus, the appreciation section of this study will include a total of 87 tweets. The overlapping of the categories should also be noted, however, as only a rough coding of the data was conducted. Many tweets fit into several of the categories, e.g. connection building appears in tweets other than the ones in the connection building category. However, this study analyses the tweets according to these rough categories in order to make the analysis easier to follow.

Connection building

Connection building is a major part of appreciation. People want to find connections between their own lives and the lives of those they appreciate or even admire. These connections can be as small as similar clothing or similar style preferences. Some admirers are very invested in the targets of their admiration and the targets' life events, the way they present themselves or how they are treated can have a huge impact on the admirer's mood as well. By building connections the admirers are able to bring themselves closer to the people they admire and thus, they might feel happier or more accomplished as they enable themselves to be a part of the lives of the people they admire. In Middleton's and Markle's case, people might want to feel connected to the royalty by buying similar clothes as them or by being invested in watching the royal event on television and sharing their opinions about the events online. Due to social media, this type of connection building and opinion sharing has become a big part of the admiration culture. A total of 19 tweets are included in the connection building category and the following tweets are examples of these tweets:

1. *Bought a top that is very "Kate Middleton wedding dress"-inspired today. :) Excited to wear it.*
2. *Meghan Markle's wedding dress was perfect. I'm pretty sure I have the same dress pinned in my wedding Pinterest.*
3. *I'm sorry I've been extremely unproductive this week, I'm suffering from PTSD from Meghan Markle's wedding hair disaster.*

These tweets do not only function as examples of connection building as they also show other sentiments such as admiration and excitement and thus, some of them are labelled to fit other categories as well. However, for the purpose of this section they function as examples of connection

building as the focus of this section is on the research question 3b: How are words and grammar used to connect or disconnect events and information or ignore connections between them?

Example tweet one is a short tweet about a person having bought a top similar to Kate Middleton's wedding dress. Gee's *Vocabulary Tool* shows that the phrase "'Kate Middleton wedding dress'-inspired" is used to describe the top that the writer has bought. With the phrase the writer builds a connection between the top that they have bought and Middleton's wedding dress, which can be analysed using Gee's *CB Tool*. In addition, the writer states that they are "[e]xcited" to wear the top, which is a clear indication of excitement. These vocabulary choices and the connection that is built show that the writer most likely admires Middleton as she is excited to wear something similar to what Middleton wore on her wedding day. The *Not Just Saying Tool* shows that the writer has possibly bought the top for the specific reason that it reminded them of Middleton's wedding dress. This decision indicates that the writer hopes to wear clothing similar to Middleton's or even wishes to look like Middleton in general. Most likely the reason is that they wanted to share the news of their purchase online because they are excited about it and they want to share their positive emotions. Overall, the connection that the writer builds between their own top and Middleton's wedding dress is a positive one. The *Vocabulary Tool* is also used to identify other positive features in the text, the feature in this case being the emoticon ":)", which the writer uses to express content. Thus, the emoticon signals the tone of the whole tweet, which is very positive. Emoticons are an important part of tweets and their importance should not be forgotten as they can help researchers to identify features such as irony from tweets (Bermingham & Smeaton, 2010, p. 3). In this case, the emoticon matches the overall tone of the tweet, which shows that no irony is involved in the statements of the tweet, meaning that the writer is sincere. Overall, the vocabulary of the tweet is positive in tone, making the tweet positive towards Middleton.

Example tweet two is about Markle and her wedding dress. First the *Vocabulary Tool* is used to determine what kind of vocabulary is used in the tweet. The writer uses the adjective "perfect" to describe Markle's wedding dress. The adjective is very positive and writer is very pleased with Markle's choice of dress. The following sentence reveals why the writer likes the dress as much as they do, as the writer states that they "have the same dress pinned on [their] wedding Pinterest". Thus, the writer likes the dress because they seem to share taste with Markle when it comes to wedding dresses. Using the *CB Tool*, a connection built between the writer's style and Markle's wedding dress can be noticed. The reason behind the connection can be analysed using the *Not Just Saying Tool*. The connection is possibly built because the writer was very excited to see Markle's wedding dress as it matched their own style. Most likely they also wanted to share their opinion about the dress online and felt pride about having the same dress pinned on their Pinterest board,

which is why they wanted to share it. To answer research question 3c, the sentiments in the example tweet seem to be admiration and maybe even pride in having the same taste as Markle.

The third example tweet differs from the previous ones as it is more negative in tone. The tweet is about Markle's wedding day hair and how it has affected the writer's mood. First, the *Vocabulary Tool* is used to analyse the language of the tweet and to answer research question 3a. In the beginning of the tweet the writer apologises their lack of productivity by saying "I'm sorry I've been extremely unproductive this week". This indicates that the writer feels sorry for not being productive the whole week. The statement is followed by the reason for their unproductivity: "I'm suffering form [sic] PTSD from Meghan Markle's wedding hair disaster". Firstly, the verb "suffering" is used to describe how the situation has made the writer feel. Then Markle's wedding day hair is described as a "disaster", which makes it sound that the hair failed majorly. Furthermore, the writer states that Markle's wedding hair was so traumatizing that it gave them PTSD, which clearly is not true, rather the writer is attempting to emphasise their point. Overall, the language of the tweet includes many strong negative words targeted at Markle's hairdo. Using the *CB Tool*, a connection built between the hair failure and the writer of the tweet can be identified. The writer claims that the hairdo and the "PTSD" caused by it have been the reason why they have been unproductive the whole week, which is a very strong response to a hairdo and thus, likely not the real reason for the writer's unproductivity. However, as the writer decided to state it as the reason, the hair likely meant a lot for the writer. Thus, the writer of the tweet is potentially disappointed with the hair, because they had been looking forward to seeing it and expected it to be a lot better. Maybe because they are a fan of the royals or a fan of Markle. Thus, underlying sentiments of admiration can be speculated to exist under the sentiment of disappointment, to answer research question 3c, which is asking what sentiments the tweet implies. Furthermore, other tweets in the category showed descriptions of negative situations that were connected to the Duchesses, but despite the situation itself being negative or unpleasant, the sentiment towards Middleton or Markle was often positive. This shows that positive sentiments towards the Duchesses can be expressed through building connections to situation that might be unpleasant.

To answer research question 3d about the attitudes that the tweets have towards the Duchesses, the only tweet of the three that seems to show clear pro-Middleton attitude is the first tweet. The writer has bought a top that is inspired by Middleton's wedding dress and they are excited to wear it. The tweet shows that the writer clearly admires Middleton's style, and her own style is inspired by it as well. The second example is similar to the first example about Middleton's wedding dress. In the tweet the writer expresses that they are very pleased with Markle's wedding dress as it matches their own preferences regarding wedding dresses and thus, it expresses a pro-Markle attitude. The

final example is a more complicated one to determine. On one hand the writer seems to be very critical towards Markle's wedding hair and seems to be very disappointed in it. On the other hand, it could be that the writer is upset with Markle's hairdresser and the way her hair was done, not Markle herself, in which case no clear attitude towards Markle is visible in the tweet. However, judging by the vocabulary and tone of the tweet, the writer seems to consider Markle to be responsible for her own hair, which is why the tweet is labelled to have an anti-Markle attitude.

Finally, these examples are not the only tweet to include connection building as it is also visible in tweets that show other sentiments. Connection building is usually used by writers as a means of emphasising what they want to say. This research shows that connections are built between the royals themselves as well as between the Duchesses and the people in order to highlight their similarities or differences. Thus, connection building is an important tool, which use will definitely be noted in the following sections of analysis.

Admiration

The next sentiment that will be studied in this thesis is admiration. It was the most common sentiment of the positive sentiments found in the data as 42 tweets (excluding the sub-categories) were labelled to include admiration. Out of these tweets 30 expressed admiration towards Middleton and 12 towards Markle. Here are four examples of these tweets:

4. *Love Kate Middleton's look at the #RoyalChristening. Her classic style is a constant inspiration.*
5. *Not a huge Kate Middleton fan but she did look gorgeous in that McQueen #fashion #royalchristening*
6. *I applaud you Meghan Markle, for keeping it naturally real with your body. Thank you for showing that your #baby belly doesn't spring back washboard flat 2 months after giving #birth. May God's blessings be on the #christening of your son.
#RoyalChristening

[praying black hands -emoji]

#Blessings*

Using Gee's *Vocabulary Tool*, the language of the example tweets can be examined and thus research question 3a will be answered. In the fourth example tweet the very positive verb "Love" is being used when describing the writer's opinion on Middleton's style at Princess Charlotte's christening. Middleton's style is described with the positive adjective "classic" and praised to be a "constant inspiration". To answer research questions 3b and 3c, the fourth tweet does not include

any connection building and according to the vocabulary, the tweet's sentiment is clearly admiration due to the praising vocabulary choices.

Furthermore, the fifth example tweet includes the positive adjective “gorgeous”, which is used to describe Middleton's appearance. However, the second tweet also includes the phrase “Not a huge Middleton fan”, which indicates that the writer is typically not interested in Middleton's looks or actions. In this tweet, the phrase is followed by the word “but”, after which the writer praises Middleton's appearance, or more specifically her dress, at Prince George's christening, which lessens the significance of the writer's earlier statement. Using Gee's *CB Tool*, a connection can be identified between the word “McQueen” and the dress that Middleton wore at the christening as it was designed by Alexander McQueen. This connection tells the readers of the tweet which dress the writer is talking about despite the tweet not including an image. Thus, the writer trusts in the shared common visual that the Twitter users have of the dress. The connection to McQueen is a positive one and the writer is pleased with how the dress looked on Middleton. Therefore, to answer research question 3c, the sentiment of the tweet can still be interpreted as admiration, as significance of the statement that the writer is “not a huge Middleton fan” is lessened.

The sixth example tweet is about Markle and her body after pregnancy. Using the *Vocabulary Tool* many positive word choices and phrases can be identified from the tweet: “applaud”, “naturally real”, “Thank you”, “May God's blessings be on the #christening of your son” and “#Blessings”. In addition, the tweet includes an emoji of praying black hands, which emphasises the blessing the writer sends to Markle. The vocabulary of the tweet is very positive in tone and praises Markle. Using the *CB Tool*, the sentence, in which the writer praises Markle for showing that “your #baby belly doesn't spring back washboard flat 2 months after giving #birth”, could be an attempt to build a connection to other celebrities. The phrase gives an impression that the way Markle presented her body after pregnancy was more realistic than most celebrities that the writer has seen. Arguably, the writer might be referring to Middleton as her body is known to have recovered quickly after pregnancies. The writer is clearly aware that Markle does not represent the ideal maternal feminine that is often praised in the media. As Allen et al. (2015) describe Middleton to fit this ideal better due to her whiteness and small baby bump, the writer might be building a connection between Middleton and Markle in the tweet (p. 7). Overall, the writer seems to appreciate Markle for the way she presented her body post-pregnancy, which indicates that the presentation of post-pregnancy bodies in the media is often limited to the bodies that fit the ideal, like Middleton's. Thus, the writer views Markle not fitting the ideal positively and is empowered by the way Markle presents her body. Therefore, the sentiment in the tweet is clearly admiration towards Markle.

Answering research question 3d uncovers whether the language of the tweets suggests that there is a clear attitude towards either of the Duchesses. This is done using the *Not Just Saying Tool* by Gee. The fourth example tweet has a clear pro-Middleton attitude as the writer admires the Duchess and praises her abundantly. In the fifth tweet the writer emphasises that they are not particularly fond of Middleton in general, but the tweet itself was praising her, making the tweet's attitude more pro-Middleton. Finally, the sixth tweet clearly has a pro-Markle attitude due to the writer praising the Markle and being pleased with her actions. The tweet gives an impression that the writer is not pleased with the presentation of post-pregnancy bodies in the media before Markle's. This critique can possibly be targeted towards Middleton, which potentially brings up an anti-Middleton attitude.

The other tweets that are included in the admiration category, are very similar to the selected examples. Especially tweets similar to the fourth example were very common, especially in the data collected about Middleton's wedding and her children's christenings. Overall, Middleton receives a lot of praise and admiration about her appearance and style. Similar tweets to the fourth example were also found about Markle, but they appeared less frequently. Typically, Markle is praised for her actions, like in example tweet six, but her clothing choices and style also receive admiration. However, as a whole Middleton received more admiration than Markle in the research material as significantly more tweets expressed admiration towards Middleton.

Excitement

Excitement is a sentiment that is strongly connected to admiration as people tend to feel excitement towards events in their personal life or in the lives of the people they admire. Typically, the feeling of excitement is a very positive one and therefore, when used in context of talking about the target of one's admiration it represents a very strong form of appreciation. A total of 22 tweets were labelled into the *excitement* category, out of which 14 were about Middleton and 8 about Markle. The following tweets are examples of these tweets:

7. *Literally don't even talk to me today if it's not about Kate Middleton being pregnant again*
8. *It was so good to see the #DukeandDuchessofSussex at the #TroopingOfTheColour. I'm so looking forward to seeing photos of His Royal Cuteness, #ArchieHarrison at his christening! #SussexSquad #MeghanMarkle*
9. *#dailymail Prince Harry and Meghan Markle share new photo from Archies Christening on Prince Charles birthday*

The seventh example tweet is about Middleton's pregnancy announcement. Using Gee's *Vocabulary Tool*, the phrase "don't even talk to me [...] if" can be interpreted to indicate the

writer's excitement about Middleton's pregnancy. The writer does not want to talk about anything else but the pregnancy, which shows their excitement about announcement. Here the writer is also building a connection between their own life and the life of Middleton, which can be noted using the *CB Tool*. Their strong reaction to the announcement indicates that Middleton is an important part of the writer's life. Thus, the writer's excitement about Middleton's pregnancy indicates that they want to share the happiness and feel included in the event. The overall sentiment of the tweet is, thus, positive towards Middleton. The writer's excitement indicated that there is also a level of admiration included as people usually get excited over the lives of those whom they admire. Thus, the sentiments visible in the tweet are admiration and more specifically excitement.

Example eight is a tweet about Markle and her family. The user describes how it was "good" to see Markle and her husband at the Trooping of Colour event, which took place a few days after Archie's christening. The word "good" being a positive adjective indicates that the writer saw the couple attending the event as positive news. The writer goes on to talk about Archie in the tweet as they express their excitement by stating that they are "so looking forward to" seeing pictures taken at Archie's christening. The writer also refers to Archie with the complimentary phrase "His Royal Cuteness", which indicates that the writer finds the baby cute. The writer seems to be a supporter of the Sussexes in general as they use a hashtag "#SussexSquad", which is a unique hashtag that does not appear in any of the other tweets that were collected for this study. The *CB Tool* shows that the tweet builds a connection between the Trooping of Colour event and the christening of Archie, the Sussexes being the connecting factor between the two events. By creating this connection, the writer expresses that seeing the couple at another event reminded them of the christening that happened a few days earlier. The writer's word choices regarding the Sussexes are very positive and are used to express admiration and excitement, which are the most visible sentiments in the tweet.

Tweet example nine is different from the tweets that have been introduced earlier as it neutrally states that the Sussexes have shared a new photo from Archie's Christening on Prince Charles' birthday. Many similar tweets were included in the collected corpus. The use of "#dailymail" most likely indicated that the writer of the tweet has read the information on *The Daily Mail*. Using the *Vocabulary Tool*, the language of the tweet is interpreted as neutral as no strongly emotional words are used. However, by using the *Not Just Saying Tool* the purpose of the tweet can be examined, as every written text is written for some reason. Using the tool and considering the content of the tweet, the writer has likely wanted to share the information with others because they themselves are excited about it. Thus, the language of the tweet does not reveal the sentiment of the tweet, but the reason why it was posted does. Similarly to the earlier example tweets, excitement is visible in the

ninth example tweet and as excitement is strongly connected to admiration, admiration can be identified from the tweet, despite the language being neutral.

Answering research question 3d about the attitudes of the tweets, it can be noted that example tweet seven shows positive attitudes towards Middleton as the writer of the tweet is excited about her pregnancy. Thus, it is categorized as a pro-Middleton tweet. Example tweet eight, on the other hand, shows a positive attitude towards Markle and her family as the writer of the tweets is praising the whole family. The excitement shown in the tweet as well as the use of hashtags support the idea that the tweet presents a pro-Markle attitude. Example nine does not appear to show any clear attitudes towards Markle as the language of the tweet is very neutral. However, after identifying the underlying excitement in the tweet, it could be considered a mildly pro-Markle tweet.

The 22 tweets that were labelled to include “excitement” were similar to the examples chosen and excitement was more often targeted at Middleton than it was at Markle. As a whole, all of the tweets that dealt with excitement had a strong connection to people building connections between their own lives and the lives of the Duchesses. People build these connections to make themselves feel a part of the lives of the royals. They express their excitement online and share the royals’ happiness to feel included and to be a part of the community. Therefore, the importance of connection building is evident when considering positive sentiments, such as excitement.

Jealousy

Admiration can sometimes be expressed by using negative emotions. Such instances are difficult to identify by using machine learning techniques, but as the tweets in this study are processed manually, such instances have been identified. Admiration is sometimes an unpleasant and difficult emotion as it often encourages a person to compare themselves to the person they admire. Through this people tend to get jealous of the features and qualities of the person they admire, especially in situations where the desired feature is impossible to obtain. However, these instances of jealousy are typically positive in tone and supportive toward the person that is being envied because they are still the target of one’s admiration. In the tweets collected for this study, jealousy was apparent in four tweets, all of which were discussing Middleton and her appearance. Here are three examples of the four tweets that were labelled with ‘jealousy’ during the coding process:

10. Kate Middleton only has 3 weeks till Meghan & Harry's wedding to lose the 1.3lbs she gained from pregnancy.

11. why am i still unable to master the curling iron? i blame my hair. curls fall out in 5hrs, without fail. i want kate middleton wedding hair!

12. *Kate Middleton. How is she always so prefect? Asking for a friend.*
#RoyalChristening #RoyalBaby

Example 10 shows jealousy towards Middleton's body, which was also expressed in the tweet that is not included as an example. In the tweet that is not included, jealousy was expressed directly, whereas in example 10, jealousy is not as easy to identify. In the tweet, the writer says that Middleton only has three weeks until the wedding of Markle and Prince Harry to "lose the 1.3lbs she gained from pregnancy". This refers to Middleton giving birth to Prince Louis on 28th of April 2018 and the wedding of her brother-in-law taking place three weeks after. The writer thus builds a connection between Middleton losing the weight she gained during pregnancy and Prince Harry and Markle's wedding. However, the fact that the writer claims that Middleton only gained 1.3lbs during her pregnancy shows the irony of the tweet as 1.3lbs is very minor weight gain and weight alterations of such volume cannot even be noticed.

Using the *Not Just Saying Tool* the purpose of example tweet ten can be analysed. As it has been noted earlier in this study, Middleton's barely visible baby bump has been identified to represent the ideal maternal feminine as it functions as a symbol of "her respectable maternity and maternal body" (Allen et al., 2015, p. 7). Thus, her body returning back to its pre-pregnancy state is also seen as the ideal as it goes hand in hand with the small baby bump. The writer of the tweet has noticed that Middleton's post-pregnancy body is nearly identical to her pre-pregnancy body, which most likely has triggered frustration and possibly jealousy in the writer. The frustration might be caused by the writer not having the same experience during their own pregnancy and/or Middleton creating unrealistic expectations for other pregnant woman to get back to the same size they were before pregnancy. Frustration is evident from the tweet as no indications, emojis or excess punctuation, about the tweet being a joke are visible in the tweet. In this case jealousy is more difficult to identify as there is no way to know whether the writer has gone through pregnancy themselves. If they have, the tweet could be interpreted to include a level of jealousy and bitterness but if they have not the tweet's primary sentiment is most likely frustration. If jealousy is included, the tweet could also be connected to admiration as in the case the writer admires Middleton's body and is bitter that their body did not function similarly. However, admiration itself does not seem to be apparent in the tweet and if the possible jealousy is ignored, the tweet appears more judgemental. This example shows that it is often up to interpretation to identify underlying sentiments in tweets.

Example tweet 11 shows the writer's jealousy more clearly than the previous example. Using Gee's *Vocabulary Tool*, many negative word choices are targeted towards the writer and their hair. The first sentence "why am I still unable to master the curling iron?" and especially the use of the word "still" indicates that the writer is frustrated for not being able to use the curling iron in a way that

they would like to. Using the *Vocabulary Tool* again for the following sentence “i blame my hair”, the tone of the sentence can be noted to be negative as the verb “blame” is used. The writer goes on to describe that their curls will fall out in five hours “without fail”, which emphasizes the frustration of the writer. In the final sentence the writer says “i want kate middleton wedding hair!”, which clearly indicates her admiration and jealousy for Middleton’s hair. The writer’s use of the exclamation mark is classified as an indicator of intonation, as Bermingham & Smeaton (2010) note, and thus, it is seen as a means of expressing sentiment (p. 3). Therefore, the writer is emphasizing their desire to have curls similar to Middleton’s. Using the *CB Tool*, a connection built between the writer’s and Middleton’s hair can be identified. The writer is trying to accomplish a similar look to Middleton, which signals admiration. However, as they struggle to reach their goal, they get frustrated and through frustration their admiration turns into jealousy. Thus, the tweet includes features of both sentiments. In the example tweet, the writer blames their hair for not getting the wanted outcome and the target of frustration is their own inability and their hair, not Middleton. Middleton and her hair are seen as the goal that the writer is unable to reach, which highlights the admiration and jealousy that the writer is expressing towards Middleton. To answer research question 3c, the sentiments visible in the tweet are admiration and more clearly jealousy.

Example tweet 12 shows similar admiration towards Middleton as the previous ones. In the tweet, the writer is expressing their admiration towards Middleton during the christening of Princess Charlotte, which can be determined by the date of the tweet, 9th of July 2015, and by the hashtags used: “#RoyalChristening” and “RoyalBaby”. The *Vocabulary Tool* shows that the writer seems to admire Middleton as they use the adjective “perfect” to describe her. The word is a very positive expression to use of a person as people are rarely flawless, but the writer suggests that Middleton is. In the tweet the writer asks, “How is she always so perfect?”, referring to Middleton. The use of the word “always” indicates that the writer has never been disappointed in Middleton. Whether the word “perfect” refers to Middleton’s appearance, actions or her as a whole is left unclear, which is why the assumption can be made that the writer means the word choice as a compliment towards her as a whole. The whole question suggests that the writer admires Middleton. The next sentence “Asking for a friend.” indicates that the writer would like to know the answer to how Middleton is so perfect. Typically, the phrase ‘asking for a friend’ is used in situations where people pretend to ask something on behalf of another person because they are too embarrassed to ask just for themselves. However, using the *Not Just Saying Tool* and analysing the way the phrase is used in the tweet, the phrase can be interpreted as a joke that is made to lessen the significance of the question. Moreover, the writer would like to know how Middleton is always so perfect, but the use of the phrase indicates that there is some form of embarrassment involved, as if they feel

embarrassed for finding her perfect. Thus, embarrassment is a possible secondary emotion the writer feels about feeling admiration towards Middleton. Regardless of whether guilt is involved or not, the writer evidently feels admiration towards Middleton. As a result of this, the writer would like to know what makes Middleton “so perfect”, presumably in order to accomplish this “perfection” themselves, making jealousy another secondary emotion in the tweet. The sentiments visible in the tweet are, therefore, admiration and jealousy as in the earlier examples.

Typically, jealousy is not considered a positive emotion and people usually do not enjoy feeling it. Within the scope of this study however, the connection between admiration and jealousy is identified, as most of the tweets including jealousy towards Middleton also showed signs of admiration towards her. The examples also showed that identifying the underlying sentiment in tweets including jealousy can be challenging. As examples 10, 11 and 12 showed, jealousy can be associated with feelings of admiration as people wish to obtain qualities possessed by the person they admire. In Middleton’s case these qualities are often to do with her looks, hair, and body. Example 10 also showed that jealousy and bitterness might sometimes be difficult to tell apart. However, the examples collected for his study show that jealousy is often connected to admiration. Jealousy is typically caused by another person having something that one wants for oneself and usually that something is a quality that they admire. However, it can also be caused by bitterness. If a person considers the person with the desired quality unworthy of the quality, they might feel frustrated as they feel like they, or someone else, deserve it more than they do. Another example of jealousy caused by bitterness would be the possible scenario that was behind example tweet 10: the writer of the tweet is jealous that Middleton did not gain weight during pregnancy like they did.

All tweets that were coded with ‘jealousy’ were about Middleton and in the scope of 180 tweets, no one showed signs of jealousy towards Markle. Naturally, only four tweets expressed the emotion towards Middleton, but the absence of the sentiment towards Markle is worth noting. The tweets show that people do admire Markle, but it could be that people identify that she gets a lot of critique from media as well as people on social media. Even though being jealous of Markle’s hair or body, like in Middleton’s case, are not connected to her treatment in media, it might still have an effect on how desirable people consider her or her position. People might acknowledge that she is beautiful and successful, but they do not envy her due to all the critique she receives.

Middleton is more frequently the subject of the tweets in the *appreciation* category and thus, she receives more praise and attention than her sister-in-law. This shows that the people on Twitter find Middleton and her position more admirable. The criticism Markle has received in the media is a possible reason for her getting less admiration online. According to Sweetman et al. (2013)

“admiration can be seen as maintaining social hierarchy” (p. 535). They continue to argue that “[admiration] can also, depending on the object of admiration, serve as a means of engendering behavior that challenges the social hierarchy or inhibits behavior that would maintain it” (Sweetman et al., 2013, p. 535). In the case of the British royal family, the hierarchy they are trying to maintain is the royals’ relationship with the common people. They want to remain respected and admired in order to set themselves above the average person while maintaining their traditions. This goal is accomplished when the people admire Middleton as she is known for following the royal traditions.

However, Markle is known to have been more interested in changing some of the traditions in addition to her already problematic personal brand, and thus, admiring her can be viewed as challenging the existing hierarchy. According to Sweetman et al. (2013) “feeling admiration towards the dominant and powerful will inhibit political action aimed at “progressive” social change” (p. 535). In this case the dominant and powerful being the royal family and Middleton because she usually supports the family’s values and traditions. The analysis of the articles also showed that through Middleton the royal family gains positive publicity in newspapers, which strengthens the family’s position in the hierarchy. Moreover, Sweetman et al. (2013) claim that “admiration for the dominant, as well as a lack of anger, is important for engendering behaviors that facilitate the maintenance of social hierarchy and for inhibiting those that would challenge the social order” (p. 535). Therefore, the positive media presence that Middleton has is an important factor in maintaining the royal family’s position in Britain. If people were to be angered by the actions of the royal family, they would essentially begin to demand change, which naturally would affect the royal family’s position in the hierarchy. And as Middleton is the mother of a future monarch, the royal family values how she is viewed by the people. And thus, they aim to affect her image through giving media positive news about her to maintain her positive image.

As mentioned earlier, Markle is not as valuable to the royal family’s brand as Middleton is. However, despite the negative image that the newspapers, and potentially even the royal family, are creating of her, people do express appreciation and other positive sentiments towards her on Twitter, which shows that people’s opinions are more diverse than those of the newspapers. Furthermore, Sweetman et al. (2013) argue that “when the object of admiration is a subversive hero or martyr, the emotion should engender action to challenge the social order” (p. 535). Markle fits this description because she battles the royal traditions and attempts to change them, her and Prince Harry’s decision to leave the royal family being the greatest example of this. Due to her ‘otherness’ as an American and divorced mixed-race actress, she has also been attacked by the press and the newspaper articles written about her are usually judgemental in tone. Therefore, the newspapers can be said to support this traditional idea of the royal family and they do not wish the hierarchy to

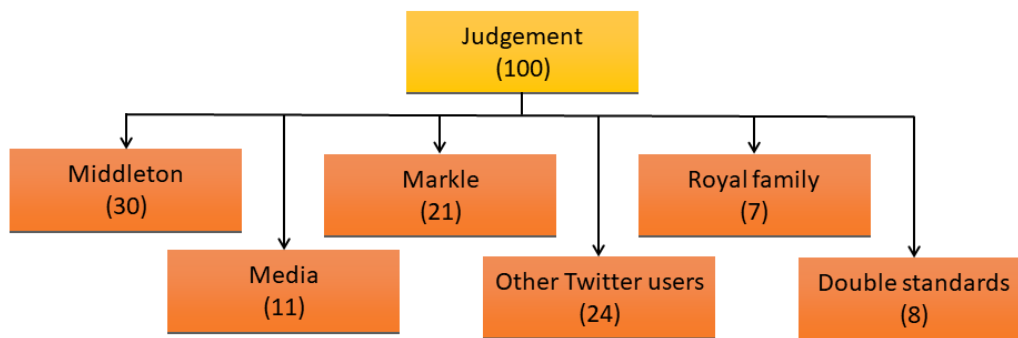
change either, as they want to continue working with the royal family. However, this has not gone unnoticed by the people, as the following tweets will show.

5.2. Judgement: disgust, frustration, and anger

The tweets that were collected did not only include positive sentiments of appreciation as judgement and negative emotions were also identified. The primary sentiments that were identified from the tweets were disgust, frustration and anger and these sentiments were not only targeted towards Middleton and Markle, but also towards the royal family, media, and other Twitter users. For clarity and to make the study easier to follow, the tweets have been divided into categories according to the party that the negative sentiment is targeted towards. Thus, in this section the categories are more content based than they are sentiment based.

Figure 3.

Tweet categorization, judgement



A total of 100 tweets were labelled to fit into the *judgement* category, meaning that negative sentiments, e.g. anger, frustration, or disgust, are expressed in the tweets. These 100 tweets were then categorized further to form the following categories based on the target of judgement: *Middleton*, *Markle*, *Royal family*, *Media*, *Other Twitter users* and *Double standards* (see Figure 3). Out of the tweets, 30 tweets were about Middleton, whereas 21 were about Markle and the tweets are in the *Middleton* and *Markle* categories accordingly. The *Royal family* category includes a total of seven tweets that criticize the Queen or the royal family in general. *Media* category includes eleven tweets that discuss the way media writes about the Duchesses. 24 tweets are included in the *Other Twitter users* category that includes tweets that have negative sentiment targeted at other Twitter users. The last category *Double standards* includes eight tweets about the double standards surrounding Middleton and Markle. In addition, four tweets out of the 100 are labelled to fit into two of the subcategories instead of one and these tweets are included in the tweet count of both categories they are associated with. Furthermore, four additional tweets overlap with the

Connection building category and are included in both categories. Overall, the total count of the tweets included in the judgement section is larger than that of the appreciation category.

Towards Middleton

First, judgement targeted towards Middleton will be analysed. Unlike the newspaper articles that seemed only to praise Middleton to create a positive image of her, the tweets do include judgement targeted at her. This is an interesting finding as it is, because it shows the difference of newspaper media and social media regarding their views of Middleton. A total of 30 tweets express a form of judgement towards the Duchess and the following three tweets are a few examples of those tweets:

13. *Apalled to discover via @VictoriaCoren that Kate Middleton's wedding dress cost more than my house is worth. Commoner my arse.*
14. *every time kate middleton announces shes pregnant i am shocked bc no couple in history have less top shagger energy than will and kate. i truly believe they have sex once a year purely to procreate, in missionary position, lights off, complete silence, there is a sheet between th*
15. *We see what #katemiddleton was trying to pull, showing up in a bright pink outfit and red heels. So tacky. There's an attention seeker in every family :/#ArchiesChristening #PrinceHarry #MeghanMarkle #royalchristening #princearchie*

Example tweet number 13 can be analysed using Gee's *Vocabulary Tool*. The first word of the tweet, "[a]palled", shows that the writer is displeased and shocked to hear the price of Middleton's wedding dress. Thus, the writer is having very strong negative feelings about the price. Using the *CB Tool*, a connection built between Middleton's dress and the writer's house is noted. By creating the connection, the writer is emphasizing the absurdity of the price of Middleton's wedding dress as the same amount of money that was used for the dress could have been used to buy a house. The final statement of the tweet, "[c]ommoner my arse", can also be analysed using Gee's *Vocabulary Tool*. The use of obscene language in the phrase is an indication of anger or at the very least frustration. By using the phrase, the writer expresses their opinion about Middleton's commoner status as the writer cannot consider her a commoner for being able to afford such an expensive dress. As discussed earlier, the newspapers often highlight Middleton's commoner background, which is a major part of her celebrity princess brand introduced by Logan et al. This has most likely caused common people to see Middleton as "one of us" despite her actual background as a daughter of millionaires. Thus, the writer of example tweet 13 has noticed that the price of Middleton's dress clashes with the idea of Middleton being an ordinary commoner woman. The writer might have hoped her choice of dress to have been something more modest to fit better with the 'Humble Kate' face of the celebrity princess brand that the people are used to seeing in newspapers (Logan et al., 2013, p. 380). Thus, the image that the writer possibly had of Middleton before hearing the price of

her wedding dress was more positive. To answer research question 3c, the vocabulary and word choices of the tweet show sentiments such as disgust and frustration. Disappointment could also be considered a possible secondary emotion in the tweet as the writer's earlier perceptions of Middleton might have not matched with the very expensive wedding dress that she wore.

Example tweet 14 is about Middleton's pregnancy announcement. The writer of the tweet claims that they are shocked every time Middleton announces a new pregnancy as, according to them, "no couple in history have less top shagger energy than will and kate". The writer elaborates by saying that they "truly believe they have sex once a year purely to procreate, in missionary position, lights off, complete silence, there is a sheet between th [sic]". Gee's *Vocabulary Tool* can be used to identify the obscene vocabulary choices, such as "top shagger energy", and the detailed description of the writer's view on the Cambridges' sex life. Using the *This Way Tool* by Gee, the motive behind the vulgar vocabulary choices can be analysed. The writer might have chosen to use such language to raise themselves above Middleton, as they feel they have the right to say their opinion about Middleton and her sex life as she is a public figure. As Allen et al. (2015) state, in online spaces, "the pregnant body becomes public property", and as such, the writer considers that they have the right to express their opinion about Middleton's sex life and pregnancy (p. 10). Similar instances occurred often within the scope of the 30 judgemental tweets written about Middleton as five tweets commented on her sex life. In the example tweet as well as in the other tweets discussing Middleton's sex life, a connection between having an active sex life and being pregnant seems to be created as many people referred to the couple's sex life when a new pregnancy was announced. This gives the impression that nothing in the Duchesses lives is considered private as the people have the right to share their opinions about everything, even their sex lives. To answer the research question 3c, the sentiments visible in this tweet are shock and surprise in addition to general judgement towards Middleton's sex life.

Tweet example 15 is about Middleton's outfit at the christening of Markle's son Archie (see Picture 1). Using Gee's *Vocabulary Tool*, the word choices of the tweet can be analysed. In the first sentence, the writer is suggesting that Middleton was "trying to pull" something by wearing "a bright pink outfit and red heels" to Archie's christening. This phrase already indicates that the writer is displeased with Middleton's outfit choice and in the next sentence they emphasize their opinion by saying that the outfit was "[s]o tacky". After this, the writer goes on to say "[t]here's an attention seeker in every family :/", which shows the writer has a negative impression about Middleton. The act of Middleton wearing brighter colours to Archie's christening is interpreted as a way of drawing people's attention towards her as other guests in the christening wore muted colours. The use of the emoji "😏" at the end of the phrase is used to highlight the disappointment

that the writer feels towards Middleton and the emoji also shows that the tweet is not written ironically, as the emoji matches the negative sentiment expressed in the tweet. Using the *SB Tool*, the word choice “bright pink” can be inspected further. When looking at Middleton’s dress in Picture 1, the colour is not particularly bright, which is why the choice to describe the colour as such is an exaggeration. Her choice of colours might also have been colour coordination with Markle’s mother, as the colours of their outfits are very similar. However, the writer thinks that Middleton’s outfit and her red accessories make her stand out in the picture. Thus, the writer seems upset because they think that Markle’s family should be getting the attention in the photo as it is Archie’s christening. To conclude, the sentiments expressed in the tweet are negative towards Middleton. More specifically, disappointment and disapproval are strong sentiments in the tweet.

Picture 1.

Official handout Christening photograph from Archie's christening



Note. Back row: Prince Charles, Markle’s mother Doria Ragland, Diana Spencer’s sisters Jane Fellowes and Sarah McCorquodale, and Prince William. Front row: Camilla Parker Bowles, Prince Harry, Meghan Markle holding her son Archie, and Kate Middleton. Picture taken by Allerton, C. AFP/Getty Images, 2019, (www.time.com/5616163/royal-baby-archie-christening/).

Research question 3d asks whether the language of the tweets suggests a clear attitude towards either of the Duchesses. In the three example tweets as well as the other tweets in the category the attitude towards Middleton is clearly negative. Thus, an anti-Middleton attitude is identified from the tweets, which was to be expected due to the tweets being divided by content for this section. Judgement that was expressed towards Middleton was usually linked to her personal life, the most

common topics of criticism being her sex life, the number of children she has and her being pregnant so often. Predictions that she will have more children at this rate were also common. Similar anti-Middleton attitudes were never present in the newspaper articles that were collected for this study, which makes these anti-Middleton tweets a relevant finding regarding this thesis.

Towards Markle

Next, the judgement targeted at Markle will be analysed and as the newspaper articles included a lot of criticism towards Markle, criticism was also expected when analysing the tweets. A surprising finding was that the number of judgmental tweets towards Markle was lower than the judgemental tweets targeted at Middleton: The total for Markle was 21 whereas Middleton's was 30. The following three tweets are examples of tweets that were labelled into this category:

16. *I refuse to believe Meghan Markle's wedding makeup cost over 18k. Was it surgically applied ????? Did the Queen order troops to guard the products ????? Were factories built solely to produce the items she used ?????????? Wtf*
17. *Fucking hell. Just watched the Meghan Markle interview. She actually described moving into a tax payer funded mansion traumatic. She's supposed to be a feminist but she's pushing the idea that pregnant women and new mothers are incapable and helpless. Fuck RIGHT off.*
18. *The Queen isn't going to her own Great Grandsons christening today. That's how much she thinks of Meghan Markle. Nobody likes her.*

Example tweet 16 discusses Markle's wedding make up and how the writer cannot believe how expensive the make up look was. Four similar tweets were written about Markle's wedding day style, out of which three discussed her make up similarly to the example tweet 16 and one of them was about her hairdo, which was included as an example for the *Connection building* category. The *Vocabulary Tool* reveals that the word choices and the language used in example 16 indicate that the writer is frustrated. In the first sentence, the writer claims that they "refuse to believe Meghan Markle's wedding makeup cost over 18k" after which they wonder why the cost of the make up look was as high as it was. The writer suggests absurd reasons for the cost, emphasizing their irony with multiple question marks, "?????", after each suggestion. Finally, the writer uses the abbreviation "Wtf" to emphasize their disbelief about the cost. Excessive use of punctuation, or the multitude of question marks in this case, is an indication of frustration and disbelief and the two are the most prominent sentiments visible in the tweet. The use of "Wtf" also indicates a level of anger. Thus, the judgemental sentiments in the tweet are frustration, disbelief and anger.

Example tweet 17 discusses an interview of Markle that she gave during her pregnancy. Using Gee's *Vocabulary Tool* the obscene language of the tweet can be identified as a sign of frustration.

The use of the phrase “[f]ucking hell” at the beginning of the tweet makes the mood of the writer evident. After the phrase, the writer explains how they watched a Meghan Markle interview in which Markle “actually described moving into a tax payer funded mansion traumatic”. Already in this sentence the use of the word “actually” indicates that the writer cannot believe that Markle had described the move “traumatic”. The way the writer also mentions that the mansion is “tax payer funded” is relevant. Using the *This Way Tool*, the mentioning of the fact gives the impression that Markle is ungrateful for being able to live in a mansion expenses of which have been paid by the taxpayers, which again frustrates the writer of the tweet. The writer might also be one of these taxpayers, which is why they are angered that Markle is ungrateful of her privileged position. They go on to claim that Markle is “supposed to be a feminist but she’s pushing the idea that pregnant women and new mothers are incapable and helpless”. Here the writer is rejecting the idea that Markle is a feminist, like her personal brand suggests, as they do not feel like she is supporting the image that pregnant women are capable and independent. Finally, the writer uses the phrase “fuck RIGHT off” targeted at Markle, which indicates strong disagreement with her actions as well as frustration and even anger towards her. Thus, the tweet includes strong judgemental sentiments of frustration and anger targeted at Markle, which is visible in the use of obscene vocabulary.

Example 18 discusses the Queen not attending Archie’s christening, which was a popular topic that shared opinions in the corpus as four tweets were written about it. Out of the tweets two were blaming Markle for not inviting the Queen to the christening but the other two were claiming that the Queen did not attend because she did not want to. In addition to these tweets, two tweets discussed the christening not being public like royal christenings typically are.

Using the *Vocabulary Tool* for example tweet 18 shows that the language of the tweet does not include as much obscene language as the two previous examples. In the first sentence, the writer states that “The Queen isn’t going to her own Great Grandsons christening today”, which is a neutral statement as it is. However, the word choices make the situation seem as if the Queen has decided not to go to the christening. Using the *This Way Tool* reveals that this word choice is used in order to make it seem as if the Queen did not want to go to the christening as they elaborate “[t]hat’s how much she thinks of Meghan Markle. Nobody likes her”. Thus, the writer of the tweet has interpreted that the Queen does not want to go to the christening because she dislikes Markle. Using the *CB Tool* shows that the overlap in her schedule seems to be ignored in order to emphasize the idea that the Queen does not like Markle. The phrase “[n]obody likes her” at the end of the tweet is also used to emphasize the notion that Markle is an unlikable person as not even the Queen likes her. Thus, the tweet clearly has negative sentiments towards Markle. An evident sentiment in the tweet seems to be schadenfreude as the writer seems to be pleased that the Queen is not

attending the christening as it emphasizes that she might also dislike Markle. Thus, schadenfreude is the most prominent of the negative sentiments in the example.

To answer research question 3d, an anti-Markle attitude is apparent in all the chosen example. This was again to be expected as the tweets in this section are categorized according to their content. According to these examples, typical triggers for judgemental tweets towards Markle are the following: the price and outcome of Markle's wedding hair and make up, Markle's comments about not enjoying the royal life, going against traditions by arranging a private christening for her son and finally, the Queen not attending the event. Thus, people do not like that Markle is not adjusting to the royal life as easily as they would like her to. Her going against tradition does not please people and her being ungrateful for her privilege or not considering the Queen's presence regarding the christening have angered people. Thus, a "Markle vs the royal family" dynamic can be identified from the tweets as people seem to be choosing sides between the two.

When comparing the judgemental tweets about Middleton and Markle, evidently more tweets are about Middleton, but the tweets themselves seem to be less aggressive towards her. Obscure language is used when her sex life is discussed but direct insults towards her are rare. In Markle's case, the tweets about her are often very hateful and aggressive towards her, not just her actions.

Towards the royal family

Out of the seven tweets that are included judgement towards the royal family, six discuss how the family did not protect Markle during her pregnancy and they also include mentions of the family "scapegoating" Markle for the actions of Prince Andrew, who was mentioned in four tweets, and Prince William, who was mentioned in two. Two examples of such tweets will be provided. The third example discusses the Queen not attending Archie's christening. Here are the three examples:

19. Reposting [three fire emojis]

The way the royal family protected Prince Andrew, a pedophile and rapist, but didn't protect Meghan Markle a heavily pregnant women really tells you where their priorities stand.

20. I'm glad Meghan Markle put it in writing that the British Royal Family did not protect her during her pregnancy. She owes those people nothing. They scapegoated her for Prince William and Prince Andrew. It's not right how she was treated by that vile firm and U.K. press

21. If a grand mother does not attend his grandson's first born's christening, then it is a snub. Got other activities to attend? What could be more important? WWII? Rearrange the schedule! We won't be fooled. #MeghanMarkle #Archie #Christening #WeAreWatching #NotRight #NoExcuse #UK

Using the *Vocabulary Tool* shows that the writer of example tweet 19 is comparing Prince Andrew and Markle. Prince Andrew is described as “a pedophile [sic] and rapist” whereas Markle as “a heavily pregnant woman [sic]”. The writer notes that the way the royal family “protected Prince Andrew” and “didn’t protect Markle” “really tells you where [the royal family’s] priorities [sic] stand”. The vocabulary that the writer uses to describe both Prince Andrew and Markle emphasize the writer’s view: Markle should be protected, not Prince Andrew. Through the final phrase the writer also notes that their decision to protect Prince Andrew shows that a “paedophile and rapist” is more important to the royal family than “a heavily pregnant woman”, which makes the family seem wicked. The tone of the tweet as well as the comparison of Prince Andrew and Markle make it apparent that the writer is clearly judging the royal family’s actions and thinks that they should have acted differently. The tweet also includes traces of disappointment and anger especially in the final phrase “really tells you where their priorities stand”. Thus, example 19 includes judgemental sentiments of disappointment and anger targeted at the royal family.

Example tweet 20 discusses the same topic as the previous example. The use of the *Vocabulary Tool* shows that the first sentence of the tweet is more positive in tone than the following sentences. In the first sentence the writer expresses that they are “glad Meghan Markle put it in writing that the British Royal Family did not protect her during her pregnancy”. This sentence is supportive towards Markle and expresses that the writer agrees with her decision. After the first sentence, the tone of the tweet changes into a more judgemental one as the writer claims that “[Markle] owes those people nothing”, those people being the royal family. The writer keeps targeting the royal family with their next claim by saying “[t]hey scapegoated her for Prince William and Prince Andrew. It’s not right how she was treated by that vile firm and U.K. press”. Here the writer is calling the royal family a “vile firm”, which shows that the writer does not think highly of the family. The writer also refers to Prince William and Prince Andrew in the tweet, which most likely refers to Prince Andrew’s paedophilia scandal and Prince William’s affair accusations. In both cases, the royal family has defended the princes, but Markle was not defended by the royal family during her pregnancy. The writer acknowledges that the press is also involved in the situation as both the royal family and the press have been mistreating Markle. Thus, this tweet also includes judgemental sentiments of frustration and anger towards the royal family as well as the media.

Finally, example tweet 21 discusses the Queen not attending Archie’s christening. The *Vocabulary Tool* shows that the writer expresses their strong opinion about the matter already in the first sentence as they say that “if a grand mother does not attend his grandson’s first born’s christening, then it is a snub”. The writer continues by asking what could be more important than the christening and suggest that perhaps “WWIII?” after which they write “Rearrange the schedule! We won’t be

fooled”. In addition to this, the tweet includes seven hashtags, four of which are neutral, but the following three describe the writer’s opinion about the situation: “#WeAreWatching #NotRight #NoExcuse”. The writer does not believe that the Queen could not rearrange her schedule to attend the christening. Thus, the writer considers the Queen’s absence an offence because they believe it was the Queen’s own decision not to attend. In earlier examples about judgement targeted at Markle, Markle has been blamed for not arranging the christening so that the Queen could attend and for being an unlikeable person to the extent that the Queen herself did not want to attend the christening. However, in this example the Queen is being blamed for her absence as the writer considers it insulting and expresses disapproval and even anger towards the Queen in the tweet.

Anti-royal family attitudes are visible in this category of tweets as expected. However, all tweets in this category seem to have a pro-Markle attitude as well. The tweets have been written as a response to the treatment that Markle has received from the royal family and all the writers seem to want to defend her or bring up the injustice she has received. Thus, the conclusion can be drawn that the people who express anti-royal family attitudes on Twitter typically also have pro-Markle attitudes. No clear attitudes towards Middleton were identified as this category does not include any tweets about Middleton. Middleton is possibly treated well by the royal family, which is why the people who support Middleton do not find it necessary to criticise the royal family’s actions online.

Towards media

Next, judgement towards media and the eleven tweets that were labelled to fit into the category are discussed. Only one of the tweets discussed Middleton and media, the rest discussed how media treats Markle. The tweet about Middleton as well as two examples of tweets that discuss Markle’s media treatment are analysed next:

22. *K-Middy can't even fart without the magazines doing a 'look back' at her fashion moments #KateMiddleton #royalchristening*

23. *Fuck EVERY ROYAL REPORTER Y'ALL are useless and helped ABUSE A HEAVILY PREGNANT WOMAN!!!! " .. Meghan Markle could have lost her baby [6 angry emojis]*

Fuck the royal family because They SACRIFICED her to protect the cheater and the Pedophile!!!!

24. *Words you did not know were bad until attached to Meghan Markle:*

** Breathing*

** Independence*

** Privacy*

** Actress*

- * *Hollywood*
- * *Ambition*
- * *Touching pregnant belly*
- * *Eating avocados... or anything else*
- * *Prince Harry*
- * *Private jets*
- * *Reading*
- * *mansions*
- * *wearing shorts.....*

Example tweet 22 is about how of the media writes about Middleton's style. Using Gee's *Vocabulary Tool* helps discover that despite the tweet's short length, it includes vocabulary choices that reveal the writer's sentiments about the topic. Firstly, the writer uses the nickname "K-Middy" about Middleton, which is the only instance of the nickname being used in the tweets that were collected for this study. The use of the nickname indicates a sense of familiarity that the writer feels towards Middleton and as the nickname is often used by magazines and people online, it might also indicate that the writer is familiar with such platforms. This would also explain why the writer has written the tweet, as in the tweet they are stating that Middleton "can't even fart without the magazines doing a 'look back' at her fashion moments". If the writer is familiar with magazines and reads them often, it would explain why they have grown tired of reading these similar 'look back' articles that appear in the magazines so often. The word choice "can't even fart without" shows a level of frustration and annoyance in the writer's tone. Thus, the judgemental sentiments that are visible in the tweet are annoyance and frustration, but both sentiments seem to be rather mild as no excessive punctuation or uppercase letters were used in the tweet.

Example 23 discusses Markle's media treatment during her pregnancy and the writer is expressing they frustration about the way reporters are treating Markle. Many similar tweets were also included in the category. Using Gee's *Vocabulary Tool*, the first aspect that is noticed is that the writer uses a lot of uppercase when writing. The curse word "fuck" is also used twice, which indicates a level of frustration. The use of uppercase letters is also a sign of frustration and as words such as "EVERY ROYAL REPORTER", "ABUSE A HEAVILY PREGNANT WOMAN" and "SACRIFICED" are written in uppercase they indicate both emphasis and anger. The use of excessive punctuation, e.g. "...." and "!!!!!!", and the use of emojis that signify anger also make it obvious that the judgemental sentiment most clearly visible in the tweet is anger. Using the *CB Tool*, a connection built between the treatment of royal reporters and Markle potentially losing her baby is noticed. The writer is

emphasising their worry about the situation by creating this connection to highlight the possible outcomes that the treatment of the press might have had on Markle and her unborn child. Furthermore, a connection is built to Prince William and Prince Andrew as the writer goes on to connect the royal family to the treatment of the media. The writer claims that “[the royal family] SACRIFICED [Markle] to protect the cheater and the Pedophile!!!!”, and in the sentence “cheater” most likely refers to Prince William due to his recent affair rumours and “Pedophile” refers to Prince Andrew. Thus, the tweet also includes judgement towards the royal family, similarly to example tweets 19 and 20. As the writers of those tweets, the writer of example tweet 23 seems to disapprove of the royal family’s actions and they also highlight the media’s involvement by targeting their anger at both parties. To conclude, anger is the strongest sentiment in the tweet, which is expressed with uppercase letters, curse words and excessive punctuation.

Example 24 also discusses the way Markle has been treated in the media as the writer of the tweet lists a variety of different actions, people, values and places that “you did not know were bad until attached to Meghan Markle”. The writer refers to newspaper articles written about Markle and the things she has been criticised for. The list can be divided into three categories: *actions*, *values*, and *nouns*. *Actions* include the following: “Breathing”, “Touching pregnant belly”, “Eating avocados... or anything else”, “Reading” and “wearing shorts.....”. Articles about Markle touching her pregnant belly and eating avocados are included in this thesis. *Values*, on the other hand, include “Independence”, “Privacy” and “Ambition”. Both independence and privacy have been discussed when analysing the articles and tweets discussing Markle and Prince Harry’s decision to hold a private christening for their son. And, finally, *nouns* include “Actress”, “Hollywood”, “Prince Harry”, “Private jets” and “mansions”. Markle’s background as an actress in Hollywood has been mentioned in the articles included in this thesis and is it a controversial part of her personal brand.

Furthermore, all the matters listed by the writer of example tweet 24 are typically considered normal and neutral, but the writer suggests that they become negative when connected to Markle. The *CB Tool* can be used to identify these connections between the matters and Markle. As the writer mentions, the listed things are not “bad” on their own, but when they are attached to Markle, they become “bad”. By highlighting this connection, the writer is bringing up the absurdity of the negative connotations that the media is creating of Markle. Using the *Vocabulary Tool* further, the excessive punctuation in the list can be identified as an indicator of frustration. For example, in the phrase “Eating avocados... or anything else”, the punctuation marks a thinking pause for the writer, after which they add “or anything else”, tone of which shows frustration. Similarly, the “.....” at the end of the list indicates that the list goes on beyond the things already mentioned, which shows that the writer has noticed that the media criticises Markle a lot. The writer has most likely found the

criticism unfair, which is why they have written the tweet to express their frustration. Thus, the primary negative sentiment expressed towards the media in the tweet is frustration.

Next the attitudes in the three previous tweets will be discussed to answer research question 3d. For these tweets, identifying pro- or anti-attitudes towards Middleton or Markle is not as simple, as the judgement in the tweets is targeted at media, not the Duchesses. However, all the writers of the tweets have had a reason to write their tweets, which is why underlying attitudes can be analysed by using the *Not Just Saying Tool* by Gee. In example tweet 22, the writer expressed their frustration towards the constant articles that were ‘look backs at Middleton’s fashion moments’. Possibly the writer also feels frustrated because they are not interested in seeing Middleton in the papers, because they do not like her. In addition, the writer uses the diminutive nickname “K-Middy” about Middleton, which indicates that the tweet has an anti-Middleton attitude. Example tweets 23 and 24 have clear pro-Markle attitudes as the tweets were clearly written to defend Markle by expressing the writers’ opinions about her treatment in the media. However, in addition to pro-Markle attitudes, example tweet 23 could be considered to include an anti-Middleton attitude. The tweet expresses anger and frustration towards the royal family and especially the way they have protected Prince Andrew and Prince William. Middleton being Prince William’s wife and through this a member of the royal family, the strong criticism is partly targeted at her. Thus, through anti-royal family attitudes, an anti-Middleton attitude is also visible in the tweet.

Ten of the eleven tweets included in this category express anger and frustration towards media for the way they have treated Markle and all eight tweets that were not included as examples were very similar to the included examples. This indicates that people have noticed the unfair media treatment of Markle and this unfairness seems to trigger strong sentiments in people. Especially, the way Markle was treated when she was pregnant has angered a lot of people as seven of the ten tweets discuss it. Thus, it could be concluded that people feel empathy towards Markle and want to defend her, especially after seeing how she was treated in the media during her pregnancy.

Towards other Twitter users

This section discusses one of the most popular targets of Twitter users’ judgment, which is other Twitter users. A total of 24 tweets were labelled to fit this category and out of the tweets, only two discussed Middleton, or more specifically, were judgemental towards people’s reactions to Middleton’s pregnancies. 22 tweets were judging other Twitter users for saying things about Markle. Nine of the 22 tweets include people judging the people who have criticised Markle’s wedding dress. Ten of the 22 include judgement towards people who have harassed Markle during

her pregnancy or theorized about Markle faking her pregnancy. Finally, the remaining three tweets revolving around Markle are judgemental towards the users who have criticised the privacy of Archie's christening. The following tweets are examples of these tweets:

25. *KATE MIDDLETON IS PREGNANT?! OH MY GOD MY LIFE IS totally unchanged and exactly the same as it was three seconds ago #RoyalBaby*
26. *Why y'all gotta be toxic and hate on Meghan Markle's dress it's her wedding not yours. And she donated £300,000 to the homeless while you're sitting behind your screen talking smack*
27. *to anyone attacking megan markle, duchess of sussex for holding her bump & theorising about her pregnancy, do me a favour and fuck off. block me, go get an education and find some happiness you miserable arseholes.*

Example tweet 25 shows frustration expressed towards the Twitter users who have been excited about Middleton's pregnancy. The writer uses uppercase lettering to emphasize their point, which is noted using the *Vocabulary Tool*. They begin by mimicking a typical excited tweet about the pregnancy announcement by writing "KATE MIDDLETON IS PREGNANT?! OH MY GOD MY LIFE IS". After this, the writer changes the lettering to lowercase to state "totally unchanged and exactly the same as it was three seconds ago". This change of lettering indicates a change of tone and, in this case, the end of mimicry. Thus, the writer states their true feelings about the news in the section that is written in lower case: they do not feel that the news has an impact on their life. Through this the writer is also mocking the people who are getting excited about the announcement, possibly because they do not understand people's excitement as Middleton having a baby does not impact the people's lives on a personal level. The sentiment in the tweet is judgement that has been triggered by frustration or annoyance at the tweets about Middleton's pregnancy announcement.

Example tweet 26 is an example of the nine tweets targeted at people who have criticised Markle's wedding dress. Using the *Vocabulary Tool*, the tweets language can be analysed. In the first sentence the writer is asking a rhetorical question: "Why y'all gotta be toxic and hate on Meghan Markle's dress". This question indicates that there has been discussion about Markle's dress online and people have been expressing their dislike towards the dress. After the rhetorical question, the writer states "it's her wedding not yours", which suggests that the writer thinks that hateful comments about the dress are uncalled for as Markle can wear the dress she wants on her wedding day. The writer does not like people criticising Markle's choice of dress as they go on to compare Markle and the commenters followingly: "And she donated £300,000 to the homeless while you're sitting behind your screen talking smack". Using the *CB Tool*, this connection can be analysed further. The writer built the connection to highlight Markle's charity donations to make the commenters feel bad about themselves for judging Markle's dress. The writer uses the term "talking

smack”, which indicates that the hateful comments might have also included some hate towards Markle herself, not only her dress. This would explain why the writer of the tweet posted the tweet as they wanted to defend Markle. This defensive act shows that the writer is a supporter of Markle, making sentiment of the tweet positive towards Markle. However, the sentiments towards other Twitter users are judgemental as annoyance, frustration and even anger are evident in the tweet.

Example tweet 27 represents the ten tweets that revolved around the conversation about Markle’s pregnancy. All of the tweets are judgemental towards people who have been harassing Markle during her pregnancy or theorized about her pregnancy being fake. Here harassment means criticising Markle’s body during and after pregnancy and overanalysing her body language, e.g. thinking that she is holding her pregnant belly wrong or too much. Example tweet 27 mentions both as the tweet is addressed “to anyone attacking meghan markle, duchess of sussex for holding her bump & theorising about her pregnancy”. Using Gee’s *Vocabulary Tool*, the language of the first phrase is quite neutral and does not show strong sentiments, but the clause following it, “do me a favor and fuck off”, does. Already the phrase “fuck off” indicates that the writer is angry with the people who have been “attacking” Markle during her pregnancy and does not want anything to do with them. The final sentence of the tweet also supports this idea as the writer states: “block me, go get an education and find some happiness you miserable arseholes”. The writer orders the people they are addressing to block them, which supports the idea that they want nothing to do with the people. Furthermore, the writer suggests that the people who have been “attacking” Markle are not educated as the writer tells them to “get an education”. The final phrase “find some happiness you miserable arseholes” also suggest that the writer guesses that the people who write such things about Markle are not happy, and perhaps project their own negative emotions onto Markle. The writer emphasises their lack of respect and anger for the people they are addressing by calling the people “arseholes”. Again, the sentiment of the tweet is very clearly judgemental towards the people who have been criticising Markle during her pregnancy. Furthermore, the word choices, e.g. “fuck off” and “miserable arseholes”, show that the tweet also includes strong sentiments of anger.

Next, the attitudes in the example tweets will be analysed to answer research question 3d. Again, all tweets include negative attitudes towards the target of judgement, which in this case is other Twitter users. However, underlying attitudes towards the Duchesses can be interpreted from the tweets. Example tweet 25 shows the writer’s frustration about people getting excited about Middleton’s pregnancy announcement. The writer does not seem interested in Middleton’s news and is annoyed and frustrated about people’s reactions to it, which indicates that the writer does not like Middleton. Thus, an anti-Middleton attitude can be identified from the tweet. The writers of example tweets 26 and 27 are clearly protective of Markle as they question and call out people who have criticised

Markle. Thus, both tweets show a pro-Markle attitude. It should also be noted that most of the tweets in this category also fall under the same attitude category as the example tweets. However, there are exceptions as in some tweets the attitude of the writer is more difficult to identify. However, large majority of the tweets represents pro-Markle attitudes as people are defending her from people who are criticising her. Thus, as noticed in the categories discussing judgement towards the royal family and media, pro-Markle attitudes are most commonly expressed through negative sentiments towards the people and institutions that criticise her.

Towards the double standards

This section discusses the eight tweets that were labelled to include discussion about the double standards surrounding Middleton and Markle. This section focuses on comparisons made between the two Duchesses and how the double standards are visible in the tweets included in this category. Only eight tweets are included in this section of analysis, but regarding this thesis, tweets that mention both Middleton and Markle are important as they give vital insight into people's views about both of the Duchesses. Thus, the following three examples will be discussed next:

28. *katy perry said "kate won" about megan markle's wedding dress. im sorry?? was it a competition??? were their marriages part of project runway: #RoyalWedding?? NO, YOU WET BAG OF SAND.*
29. *I distinctly remember when last year Meghan was blamed for ruining the photo composition of Louis' christening bc you could see her HANDS. Yesterday someone's THIGHS were in full show but not a word has been said [Smiling emoji upside down] [Smirking emoji]*
#duchessofsussex #DuchessMeghan #MeghanMarkle
30. *Meghan Markle Broke Royal Tradition with Her Dior Dress at Archie's Christening http://#of course Kate does everything right. We already know that. Meghan can't even choose a dress for her son's christening without going wrong. Thanks for telling us it was Dior.*

First, the *Vocabulary Tool* will be used to analyse example tweet 28 that discusses Katy Perry's tweet that was tweeted during Markle's wedding. The writer begins their tweet by explaining "katy perry said "kate won" about megan markle's wedding dress". By doing this they explain the situation after which they go on to state their own opinion about Perry's comment: "im sorry?? was it a competition??? were their marriages part of project runway: #RoyalWedding?? NO, YOU WET BAG OF SAND". The use of the *Vocabulary Tool* shows that the language of this section of the tweet is very emotional. The writer uses excessive punctuation, e.g. "??", several times in the tweet and the use of uppercase lettering in the final sentence reveals the writer's anger about the subject. Furthermore, the writer builds a connection between the royal weddings and the TV series *Project Runway* as they ask a rhetorical question of whether the royal weddings of Middleton and Markle

were a part of a special made up “project runway: #RoyalWedding” season. Through this connection, the writer highlights their own frustration with people comparing the two women and their wedding dresses. The writer also shows their anger and frustration towards Perry by calling her a “WET BAG OF SAND”. Thus, the judgemental sentiments expressed towards Perry and the comparison of Middleton and Markle are anger and frustration.

Picture 2.

Official portrait taken at Prince Louis' Christening



Note. Back row: Camilla Parker-Bowles, Prince Charles, Prince Harry, and Meghan Markle. Front row: Prince William, Prince George, Kate Middleton holding Prince Louis, and Princess Charlotte. Picture taken by Holyoak, M., Camera Press, 2018, (www.bbc.com/news/uk-44839803).

Example tweet 29 discusses the official portraits of Prince Louis' and Archie's christenings. Using Gee's *Vocabulary Tool*, the beginning of the tweet can again be identified as a description of the situation as the writer states "I distinctly remember when last year Meghan was blamed for ruining the photo composition of Louis' christening bc you could see her HANDS". For reference, the official portrait taken at Prince Louis christening is included in this thesis (see Picture 2) alongside the official portrait of Archie's christening that was included earlier in this chapter (see Picture 1). As we can see in Picture 2, Markle's hands are visible in the portrait as she is holding her husband's arm with her right hand and the couch with her left hand. According to the writer of the tweet, Markle has received criticism for showing her hands in the picture, but, in addition, her linking arms with Prince Harry has caused newspapers to write articles about the portrait. For example, Pemberton (2018) wrote in an article for *The Sun* followingly: "Included in the family shots was

new royal Meghan Markle, who even managed to sneak in a bit of PDA”. Pemberton (2018) continues to explain that “Public displays of affection are usually considered uncouth in royal circles, which is why you rarely see Kate Middleton and Prince William holding hands or kissing on a public engagement”. However, in Pemberton’s (2018) article, etiquette expert Myka Meier’s view on the situation is included and she states: “While Prince Harry and Meghan holding hands is atypical for royal engagements, it is a seemingly welcomed gesture to show unity and celebration of their engagement period”. Thus, public displays of affection by Prince Harry and Meghan Markle draw the attention of people as such displays have not been common in the royal family.

It is unclear whether the writer of example tweet 29 is referring to the comments about the couple’s arm linking in the photograph or simply just Markle’s hands being visible. Either way, the writer is frustrated, which can be noted from the use of uppercase lettering in the word “HANDS” using the *Vocabulary Tool*. Next the writer is building a connection between the portraits taken at Prince Louis’ and Archie’s christenings, which can be identified using Gee’s *CB Tool*: “Yesterday someone’s THIGHS were in full show but not a word has been said”. Here the writer is referring to Middleton and the way her legs are showing in the photograph (see Picture 1). Here the writer is highlighting the word “THIGHS” by using uppercase lettering. This also builds a connection between the words “HANDS” and “THIGHS” as both are written similarly in the tweet. This connection is built to compare the two body parts and how inappropriate they would be if visible at a royal event. Hands are not typically considered inappropriate whereas too short a dress can cause disapproval. The writer is highlighting this difference in their tweet and is frustrated that despite Middleton’s dress being more inappropriate and showing more skin than Markle in the other portrait “not a word has been said”. This indicates that the writer finds the situation unfair.

The emojis used by the writer of example tweet 29 will be analysed using the *Vocabulary Tool*, as emojis are an important part of tweets and they should not be overlooked. Two emojis are included in the tweet: a smiling emoji that is upside down and a smirking emoji. The first emoji can be interpreted to mean that the writer of the tweet finds the situation strange to the point that it irritates them. The emoji typically signals irony or sarcasm, but in this case the negative sentiment in the tweet matches the negative sentiment of the emoji, which is why the emoji emphasizes the negative emotion already expressed in the tweet. The smirking emoji that has been used in the tweet usually indicates self-confidence, mischief, cheeky humour, or flirtation. In example tweet 29, the emoji most likely signals the writer’s self-confidence and that they are proud of themselves for noticing the double standards regarding the christening portraits. Furthermore, the writer has used three hashtags in the tweet, all of which are quite neutrally referring to Meghan Markle. However, using the *Not Just Saying Tool* the reason for choosing the hashtags can be analysed. As the three

hashtags exclusively refer to Markle, it seems that the writer has wanted people who are interested in Markle to see the tweet. This would indicate that the writer might be a fan of Markle. Furthermore, the writer has not mentioned Middleton's name in the tweet nor in the hashtags, which again suggests that she might not want the attention of Middleton's supporters.

Example 29 has signs of judgement towards people who have been criticising Markle's pose in Prince Louis' christening portrait, but also towards those who have not said anything about Middleton's short dress in Archie's christening portrait. Thus, the writer's judgement is targeted at the double standards surrounding the two women and the parties that enable these double standards, e.g. media. More specifically the tweet includes sentiments such as frustration and anger. The tweet's tone and the writer's frustration towards the unequal treatment of the Duchesses indicates that the writer has a pro-Markle attitude. This is supported by the writer's desire to highlight the inequality and thus, striving to spread awareness of the unequal treatment of the Duchesses.

Finally, example tweet 30 that discusses Markle's dress choice at her son's christening, will be analysed. Using the *Vocabulary Tool*, the tweet can be divided into two parts. The first part of the tweet is a headline of an article that the writer has attempted to link to the tweet but has failed in doing so. Their failure is also the reason why it was included in the date of this thesis as the search criteria specified that the included tweets should not include links. The headline and the beginning of the article's link are as follow: "Meghan Markle Broke Royal Tradition with Her Dior Dress at Archie's Christening <http://#>". The article the writer is referring to is written by Alicia Bruner for the website instyle.com and thus, the tweet is building a connection between the tweet and the article in question, which can be noted using Gee's *CB Tool*. This example also shows that the public typically gets information about the royals through news sources. Furthermore, people's opinions are formed through these articles that are published by different news sources as they decide whether they accept the information as it is or question the information they are receiving. The article by Bruner discusses how Markle broke royal tradition by wearing a Dior dress to her son's christening, as "typically, for a special event, such as a christening, the British royal family sticks with U.K. labels" (Bruner, 2019). Bruner (2019) follows this statement with an example: "For example, Middleton wore Alexander McQueen to all three of her children's baptisms". The writer of example tweet 30 is clearly referring to this section of the article in the tweet.

The second part of the tweet begins with the sentences "of course Kate does everything right. We already know that", which indicate that the writer is tired of hearing news about Middleton's successes and in this case successful clothing choices. They elaborate further by saying "Meghan can't even choose a dress for her son's christening without going wrong. Thanks for telling us it was

Dior". The first sentence brings up the different treatment of Middleton and Markle as Markle's clothing choice for the christening was "wrong". The use of the word "even" in the phrase "Meghan can't even choose" highlights the writer's frustration as they seem to feel like everything that Markle does is somehow "wrong". The final sentence indicates that the only thing the writer found newsworthy in the article was the label of the dress, as they say they already knew that Markle cannot do anything right according to similar articles. The sentiment in the tweet is clearly judgemental towards Brunker's article as well as other similar articles that have been written about Markle in the media. Furthermore, the writer expresses sentiments such as frustration and even anger in the tweet, which are caused by their will to defend Markle.

Next the attitudes in example tweets 28, 29 and 30 will be discussed. Example tweet 28 expressed negative sentiment towards Katy Perry who had expressed her opinion about Middleton's and Markle's wedding dresses. The writer of the tweet did not to express any preference towards either of the Duchesses as they seemed to defend them both by expressing their frustration about the issue. However, by using the *Not Just Saying Tool*, the writer is frustration and anger at Perry can be analysed and they indicate that her comment was against the writer's own views. And it could also be argued that the writer took offence at the tweet on behalf of Markle, because Perry wrote such a tweet on Markle's wedding day. Thus, a pro-Markle attitude is visible in the tweet, but despite the writer being frustrated by Perry's comment, the tweet does not seem to include any signs of anti-Middleton attitude. Example tweet 29 also includes a pro-Markle attitude as the writer is highlighting the unequal treatment of Middleton and Markle regarding the christening portraits. The writer is defending Markle by highlighting that Middleton is not receiving as much critique as Markle even when she is wearing a dress that could be considered inappropriate. Thus, in addition to the pro-Markle attitude, an anti-Middleton attitude can be noticed as the writer seems to express frustration towards her. Finally, example tweet 30 shows clear pro-Markle and anti-Middleton attitudes as the writer is frustrated that Middleton is always praised for her actions and clothing choices whereas Markle "can't even choose a dress for her son's christening without going wrong".

To conclude, the tweets that express judgement towards the double standards surrounding the Duchesses often have a pro-Markle attitude. This is typically caused by Markle receiving more criticism than Middleton, which is usually the cause of people's frustration and anger.

Furthermore, tweets expressing judgement show that people have noticed the unequal treatment of Middleton and Markle in the media and have started to speak up about it in attempts to support Markle. As identified by Mahfouz (2018) pro- and anti-Markle groups have formed on Facebook, and they are also very visible on Twitter as found in this study (p. 256). In addition to such attitudes

being targeted at Markle, similar attitudes towards Middleton were also identified from the tweets. Arguably, the attitudes are strongly linked to the royal family as often the people who are considered pro-Middleton are also supportive of the rest of the royal family, excluding Markle. Similarly, anti-Middleton people are often critical of the whole family, not just Middleton and her actions. In this sense, Middleton can be seen as a representative of following the traditions and values of the royal family whereas Markle can be considered the opposite, a representative of change and renewal. Thus, the pro-Markle/Middleton and anti-Markle/Middleton attitudes are strongly linked to the position that the royal family have in Britain and whether people wish to maintain it or change it.

5.3. Focusing on the visual – Race

The underlying cause of many of the sentiments in the tweets is often hard to gauge but racism is one of the more obvious issues, even though it may be disguised. A total of eight tweets were labelled to include discussion associated with race. These tweets showed sentiments of appreciation as well as judgement and in some tweets, race is more evident than in others. Gee's discourse analysis tools will be used to analyse the following three tweets:

31. *Kate Middleton looked elegant and chic in ivory yesterday for the #royalchristening*
32. *The Royal Family has released the official photos from #princelouis christening! This is by far the most different portrait of the royal family ever (#meghanmarkle added a slight bit of color)! Oh and can we please get sweet and sassy #princesscharlotte some ruffle socks!*
33. *Remember THE ROYAL FAMILY SAT THERE AND LET MEGHAN MARKLE get racially abused when she was Pregnant They were in on it tooo Prince Harry really out here protecting his family*

Firstly, tweet 31 is an example of the tweets that discuss the Duchesses outfits and more specifically their colour choices which are linked to race as different colour choices compliment different skin tones. The tweets suggest ivory to compliment Middleton's fair skin, yet dark hair whereas olive green compliments Markle's darker complexion. Thus, even though the tweets do not include vocabulary that would build connections to the Duchesses' races directly, the discussion about the colour choices does, making the visual aspects of race evident in the tweets. However, all four tweets discussing colour choices compliment the choices and include positive sentiments towards the Duchesses, which is why the tweets do not include any racist undertones as neither of the women is treated unfairly or disrespectfully because of their race in the tweets.

All four tweets were also labelled to fit the admiration category as the tweets are very positive towards the Duchesses, e.g. in the example tweet, Middleton is described to have looked "elegant

and chic in ivory”. Similar complimentary vocabulary is also evident in the three other tweets. By using the *Vocabulary Tool*, these word choices are interpreted to convey positive sentiments towards the Duchesses and admiration is clearly the strongest sentiment in all the tweets. Attitudes towards the Duchesses are clearly positive and thus, example tweet 31 has a pro-Middleton and the other three tweets have both pro-Middleton and pro-Markle attitudes accordingly. The three other tweets are almost identical to example tweets 31: one of them compliments Middleton’s outfit at George’s christening by writing that “that McQueen is to die for” and the other two compliment Markle’s colour choice of olive green that was “fabulous” at Prince George’s christening and Markle’s “green suede clutch” as the writer hopes to buy a similar handbag for themselves.

Example tweet 32, discussing the official portraits taken at Prince Louis’ christening (see Picture 2), will be analysed next. Using Gee’s *Vocabulary Tool* the first sentence of the tweet, “[t]he Royal Family has has [sic] released the official photos from #princelouis christening!”, can be determined to include vocabulary that is neutral in tone. However, the use of an explanation point at the end of the sentence indicates excitement, which suggests that the writer of the tweet is excited about the newly released christening pictures. The final phrase of the tweet is also very positive in tone as the writer suggests “Oh and can we please get sweet and sassy #princesscharlotte some ruffle socks!” Here the use of the word “we” is creating a connection between the fans of the royal family and the royal family as the writer suggests that Princess Charlotte would look cute in ruffle socks. The explanation point once again emphasizes the writer’s excitement about their suggestion. Both of these sentences indicate that the writer is a fan of the royal family and is excited about the released photographs, which is why the tweet is also included in the *Excitement* category.

However, the second sentence of example tweet 33 is of interest when discussing race as the writer states: “This is by far the most different portrait of the royal family ever (#meghanmarkle added a slight bit of color)!”. The writer uses the words “by far the most different” to describe the portrait of the royal family, which suggests that the portrait differs from previous royal portraits. The writer explains their view in brackets after the sentence: “#meghanmarkle added a slight bit of color”. One might first assume that the writer refers to Markle’s outfit, but as Markle is wearing a brown dress, which does not make her outfit stand out in the photograph, it is unlikely. What the writer is most likely referring to is Markle’s race as her skin tone is darker than that of the rest of the royal family in the picture. Thus, the writer considers Markle’s race to make the royal portrait “the most different portrait of the royal family ever”. Through this, Markle’s race is made evident in the tweet and her otherness in the royal family is highlighted. However, the second sentence ends with an explanation point, suggesting that the writer is excited that the portrait is different from the previous portraits. Through this, the statement does not appear racist, as the writer seems to be pleased with the fact

that the royal family now has a biracial member. What can be noted is that Markle's race is made evident in the tweet, which highlights her otherness inside the royal family, even if the writer views it as a positive change. However, when analysing the overall attitude of example tweet 32, it appears to be positive towards Markle and the entire royal family as sentiments of appreciation and admiration are targeted at all of them.

Example tweet 33 discusses racial abuse that was targeted at Markle when she was pregnant, and the tweet was also labelled to fit the categories that handle judgement towards the media and the royal family. The tweet differs from other tweets in the race category as it directly states that Markle was "racially abused" and the writer clearly disapproves of the act. Therefore, the writer is not projecting racism or highlighting Markle's race as the people in the previous examples, rather they are judging the racial abuse she has received. The writer of the tweet starts by stating "Remember THE ROYAL FAMILY SAT THERE AND LET MEGHAN MARKLE get racially abused when she was Pregnant They were in on it too". Using the *Vocabulary Tool*, the emphasise of the sentence can be identified as the writer uses uppercase lettering to write: "THE ROYAL FAMILY SAT THERE AND LET MEGHAN MARKLE". By doing this, the writer is emphasising the royal family's part in the racial abuse and says that "[t]hey were in on it too", which means that the family did nothing to stop the racial abuse, which the writer interprets as a racist act. The final sentence "Prince Harry really out here protecting his family" can be interpreted in two different ways. The first being that Prince Harry is really protecting his family through the two lawsuits he filed against tabloid newspapers and by separating himself, his wife, and their child from the royal family. The tweet may also be interpreted as ironic, in which case it critiques Prince Harry for being unable to protect his wife from the racial abuse and for protecting the royal family. Since the tweet was written on 2 July 2020, the first interpretation might be more truthful as "[a]s of July 2020, [the Sussexes have] settled in a new home in Santa Barbara, California" (Gallagher, 2020). Therefore, the writer of the tweet is stating that Prince Harry made the right decision by moving to America to protect his wife and son from the British press. Through this, the sentiment of the tweet can be interpreted to be positive towards Markle and Prince Harry, but negative towards the royal family. Moreover, the use of uppercase lettering and the "...." in the tweet, signal frustration and even anger, which are both targeted at the royal family.

The tweets that discuss race are more likely to have a pro-Markle attitude than any other attitude. Example 31 was complimenting Middleton and her clothing choices and thus, it included a pro-Middleton attitude, as did the other tweet discussing Middleton's clothing choice. Similarly, the two similar tweets about Markle had a pro-Markle attitude. The attitude in example tweet 32 that discusses the royal portrait taken at Prince Louis' christening was not as simple to identify as

Markle's race was highlighted in the tweet, motives of which were more difficult to determine. However, through the excited tone of the tweet, the writer's views on Markle's race could be interpreted as positive, through which the attitude of the tweet could be determined to be pro-Markle. The writer was also excited about Middleton's family, especially her children, which would also suggest that the tweet also included a pro-Middleton attitude. Finally, example tweet 33 clearly includes a pro-Markle attitude as the writer is highlighting the royal family's lack of action regarding Markle's racial abuse. Furthermore, the tweet includes a visible anti-royal family attitude, similarly to the tweets that were included in the judgement towards the royal family category.

To conclude, the attitude towards Markle's race seems to be more positive on Twitter than it is in newspapers. As discussed earlier in the analysis section, the newspapers include indirect racism towards Markle as her race and otherness in the royal family is mentioned often. Similarly, on Twitter people acknowledge her race and it is occasionally brought up in discussion, but it is often done indirectly, as in the newspapers. Often people on Twitter seem to view Markle's race as a positive change in the royal family, whereas the newspapers seem to be more unaccepting of Markle as a legitimate member of the royal family. People have also noted the racial abuse that Markle has had to experience and generally they do not seem to accept it. The royal family not taking action regarding the racial abuse has also caused frustration on Twitter and it has reinforced the pro-Markle people to form anti-royal family attitudes.

6 Comparisons and conclusions

The aim of this master's thesis was to expose differences in the surface content of the ten chosen articles as well as in their writing style to uncover not only what they overtly say but also how they conceptualize Kate Middleton and Meghan Markle. In addition, a collection of tweets on the same topics was analysed to uncover people's views and opinions on the Duchesses on Twitter to compare them with the newspapers' way of reporting about their actions to find possible differences. Although there are other news sources for Twitter users to draw on, the information about the British royal family primarily come from recognised news sources. Thus, tweets expressing different attitudes from the newspapers indicates that people interpret the information they are receiving from the news sources and decide for themselves whether they accept the news as they are reported or whether they view them critically. Thus, both traditional and social media were included in the study to uncover whether the conceptualizations that *The Daily Mail* and *The Daily Express* create of the Duchesses are similar to the sentiments that people share on Twitter.

The differences in the surface content and the writing style of the newspaper articles were exposed by answering the first research question: How does the language used to describe the Duchesses' actions differ in the chosen articles? Four sub-questions were formed relating to the research question and they were used as tools for analysing the language of the article. By answering the first sub-question, 1a, the names used of the Duchesses were analysed. The names used of Middleton were all either positive or neutral and they often emphasized her role as the member of the royal family (e.g. "A beaming Duchess of Cambridge"), or as a mother (e.g. "proud mother Kate", "Mother-of-three Kate"). Her motherhood was emphasized through these names in articles that revolved around her pregnancy and her son's christening. The names and titles used of Markle were positive or neutral as well, but more demeaning names were also used of Markle. These demeaning names were related to her background as an actress, (e.g. "Duchess of Showbiz", "the Suits star"), her personality (e.g. "dictatorial bride Meghan") and her appearance (e.g. "Baby Bump Barbie").

Research question 1b emphasized the importance of reporting verbs and adjectives that were used in the articles. Middleton was mostly described using positive adjectives that praised her appearance, family, motherhood, and career. These four aspects are strongly related to the image of the ideal white maternal feminine in Britain that Middleton represents through her race and her ability to balance childcare with her royal duties. In addition to this, all of Middleton's actions were reported using positive language that supported the positive conceptualization of the Duchess. In Markle's case, the adjectives and word choices were more often judgemental or demeaning towards her actions. Her appearance was rarely the topic of disapproval but demeaning word choices

towards it occurred as well, whereas her actions clearly received judgment within the articles. Especially her not following the royal tradition was frowned upon. In addition, her wish to scent her wedding venue, her choice of wedding flowers, her baby bump holding, and her liking avocados were criticised in the articles. The language highlighted the controversy around these topics, but the language itself was mostly neutral and no clear signs of racism or discrimination towards her race or background were directly evident in the language of the articles. However, Markle's background was frequently brought up in the articles, giving the impression that the writers wished to highlight it. In addition, Markle not fitting the ideal white maternal feminine, like Middleton does, was visible in the language. The word choices in the headings of the articles about Markle also included provocative vocabulary, which often highlighted the negative tone of the article.

In research question 1c the emphasis was on significance building and how it was used to emphasize or lessen the significance of events and information presented in the articles. The significance of events and information was often altered in the articles to support the desired conceptualization of the Duchesses that the newspapers hoped to create. In other words, the articles about Middleton seemed to increase the significance of aspects that were beneficial for her public image and lessen the significance of aspects that could have affected her image negatively. The articles that discussed Markle appeared to have the opposite agenda as they increased the significance of the controversial aspects of Markle's choices and actions and lessened the significance of the factors that might have explained them or made them sound less controversial.

Research question 1d emphasized the connection building accomplished through words and grammar used in the newspaper articles. The findings regarding the connections follow a similar pattern as the previous findings: the connections created in the articles discussing Middleton were made to affect Middleton's conceptualization positively whereas the connections in articles about Markle were built to emphasize the negative aspects of the events. In Middleton's case for example, connection was built between her and the Queen, which emphasized Middleton's position in the royal family and Markle was connected to the problems of avocado production to accomplish a negative impression of her. Furthermore, Markle and her husband were also compared to Middleton and her husband to emphasize the Cambridges' superiority in comparison to the Sussexes.

Overall, the language in the articles written about Middleton and Markle differ from each other through the four aspects that were analysed through the first research question. Alongside the vocabulary, the significance building, and the connections created in the articles provide information about the way the newspapers conceptualize the Duchesses. To conclude, the conceptualizations *The Daily Mail* and *The Daily Express* wish to create of the Duchesses affect the

language the most: language discussing Middleton is positive because a positive image is desirable, whereas language used of Markle is more negative to create a negative image of her.

The second research question was about the way the newspapers conceptualize Middleton and Markle. The positive image of Middleton consists of several different aspects that were highlighted with the language use in the articles. Allen et al. (2015) argue that the reason why Middleton's 'modest' background and through that her ordinariness is highlighted is due to her ordinariness "justifying the wealth and privilege of the Royals" as she, promotes the idea of social mobility (p. 6). Therefore, Middleton's personal brand that highlights her commoner background is important to the brand of the royal family, which is why royalist newspapers wish to present her in a positive light. Middleton's image also includes the ideal white maternal feminine as she is seen as the ideal mother figure in Britain. Regarding her race, Middleton's whiteness is also automatically considered suitable for the royal family that "is often considered the main symbol of whiteness" in Britain (Mahfouz, 2018, p. 247). Middleton is known for her "commitment to working hard at being a Royal" as well as her charity work, which also plays a role in the creation of her positive public image as a member of the royal family (Allen et al., 2015, p. 6). In addition, she is known to appreciate the traditions of the royal family, which again influences her image positively in the eyes of the right-wing newspapers as it benefits the brand of the royal family.

The way *The Daily Mail* and *The Daily Express* conceptualize Markle clearly differs from the conceptualization of Middleton. Each article about Markle highlights her 'otherness' and 'difference' in the royal family, which is the core of her negative conceptualization. Markle's background as an American mixed-race actress, who was divorced before marrying Prince Harry caused controversy from the start of the couple's relationship. All of these factors emphasize her 'otherness' and 'difference' that set her apart from the rest of the royal family, which is emphasized in the articles by reminding the reader of her background. Some undertones of racial discrimination can be identified from the articles that discuss Markle's pregnancy as she does not fit the image of the ideal white maternal feminine, due to her race. Mahfouz (2018) suggests in her study that Markle joining the royal family "may initiate a new era for the tradition-bound royal family", which it certainly has done as Markle's opposition towards the traditions of the royal family is discussed in the articles (p. 246). Her not following traditions is viewed negatively in the articles, as it opposes the branding of the royal family, which one of the major factors behind Markle's negative conceptualization. As a whole, the image created of Markle by the two newspapers seems to represent her less desirable position as a Duchess in comparison to Middleton.

To conclude, the conceptualizations *The Daily Mail* and *The Daily Express* create of Middleton and Markle are vastly different from one another. The five article pairs that were analysed show that the language of the articles is altered to contribute to the conceptualizations that the newspapers wish to create of the Duchesses. Furthermore, Middleton is accepted as a full member of the royal family but Markle's acceptance is not as evident as her 'otherness' in contrast to the rest of the royal family is emphasised often in the articles. The reason for this is that Middleton's personal brand benefits the royal family more than Markle's does.

The third research question used to analyse the tweets collected for this master's thesis was: What does the language used in tweets about Middleton and Markle reveal about their author's attitudes towards the Duchesses? Similarly to research question 1, four sub-questions were formed for the third research question as well. The first sub-question, 3a, was used to analyse what kind of verbs, nouns or adjectives were used when referring to Middleton and Markle in the tweets. The language and overall vocabulary choices of the tweets were noted to be much more emotionally loaded than those of the newspapers. People expressed appreciation through positive word choices, especially positive adjectives ("gorgeous", "fabulous"). Twitter users also build connection between their own lives and those of the Duchesses to feel more connected to them. This was also noted to be a way to express appreciation and admiration. When expressing judgement, the emotions of anger and frustration were often visible through the use of curse words ("do me a favour and fuck off"), uppercase lettering ("NO, YOU WET BAG OF SAND") or excessive punctuation ("!!!!!!").

Research question 3b emphasized how words and grammar are used to connect or disconnect events and information or ignore connections between them. Connections were built and ignored in the tweets whenever the writer wished to emphasize their view, whether it was a positive or a negative one. Thus, connections were built in tweets that included appreciation and in tweets that included judgement. Usually, connections were built between the Duchesses and other members of the royal family, or other celebrities but also building connections to the writer's own life was common. In addition, connections to certain events or outfits were made in the tweets to make the reader understand the tweets' contexts. Thus, connection building was noted to be an important tool of emphasis in the tweets, in a similar way that it was in the newspapers.

The purpose of research question 3c was to discover what kinds of sentiments the language of the tweets implied. The sentiments analysed in this thesis were appreciation that included admiration, excitement, and jealousy as sub-categories as well as judgement. As a whole, more tweets expressed negative sentiments, e.g. disgust, frustration and anger, than positive as a total of 87 tweets expressed appreciation and 100 expressed judgement. 68 tweets expressed admiration and 30

of them were about Middleton, whereas only 12 were about Markle. Excitement was expressed in 22 tweets out of which 14 were targeted at Middleton and 8 at Markle. Admiration towards Middleton was also expressed through jealousy that is typically seen as a negative sentiment in four tweets, but no jealousy was expressed towards Markle. This highlights Markle's less desirable position as a Duchess in comparison to Middleton that the newspapers also seemed to highlight. Overall, Middleton was more commonly the topic in the tweets that included positive sentiments.

A total of 100 tweets included negative sentiments and the tweets were divided into six categories according to the target of the judgement: *Middleton* (30 tweets), *Markle* (21 tweets), *The royal family* (7 tweets), *Media* (11 tweets), *Other Twitter users* (24 tweets), and *Double standards* (8 tweets). More specifically, sentiments of anger, frustration and disgust were found in the tweets. Judgement targeted at Middleton was usually about the price of her wedding dress or her personal life, e.g. her sex life, the number of children she has or how often she is pregnant. Markle received judgement about her wedding day looks, and for not following the royal traditions, e.g. she was judged for not enjoying the life in a mansion and for holding a private christening for her son. The royal family was judged for not protecting Markle during her pregnancy, despite protecting Prince Andrew after paedophilia accusations and Prince William after his affair scandal. The Queen was also judged for not attending Archie's christening. The media received judgement for constantly writing about Middleton's clothing choices, and for bullying and abusing Markle while she was pregnant as well as judging everything she does. Other Twitter users typically caused anger and frustration in writers when they had said something that the writer did not agree with. For example, getting excited about Middleton's pregnancy announcement, judging Markle's wedding dress and the way she held her baby bump, and people hoping Archie would have a public christening caused anger and frustration in other Twitter users. Finally, the double standards surrounding Middleton and Markle caused negative sentiments in people as well as the way people compared the two women with each other. For example, Katy Perry's comment about Markle's wedding stating that "Kate won" triggered discussion about double standards surrounding the Duchesses. Furthermore, the claim that Markle ruined the christening photo for showing her hands, whereas nothing was said when Middleton's thighs were showing in another christening photo angered one of the Twitter users, whereas another one was frustrated that Markle cannot even choose a dress for her son's christening without the newspapers finding something wrong about it. As a whole, more tweets expressed judgement towards other people than they did towards either Middleton or Markle, but of the two women, Middleton received judgement in more tweets than Markle.

However, the number of tweets targeted at each Duchess is not enough to determine people's opinions about them as, for example, many of the tweets that expressed judgement towards media

or the royal family were defending Markle. Thus, research question 3d was answered to uncover whether the language of the tweets suggests a clear attitude towards either of the Duchesses. Primary attitudes that were found in the tweets were pro-Middleton, pro-Markle, anti-Middleton and anti-Markle. 26 tweets expressed no clear attitude towards either of the Duchesses. A total of 52 tweets expressed pro-Middleton attitudes whereas only 22 tweets expressed anti-Middleton attitudes. On the other hand, 63 tweets expressed pro-Markle attitudes and 21 were identified to have anti-Markle attitudes. What can be concluded from this is that despite Middleton being the topic of tweets that express appreciation more often than Markle, more tweets are still pro-Markle than pro-Middleton. This is because many of the tweets that express a pro-Markle attitude are judgmental towards the media, the royal family, other Twitter users or the double standards. Thus, support for Markle is often expressed by highlighting the unjust treatment of Markle. An interesting finding was also that many pro-Markle tweets seemed to include anti-royal family attitudes. Similarly, people who opposed the royal family were also likely to judge the media as they were often judged in the same tweets that defended Markle.

Finally, the fourth research question asking how the attitudes implied by the newspapers differ from the attitudes that are visible on Twitter, will be answered. As the aim of this thesis is to uncover the possible differences in the media's way of reporting the Duchesses actions and the people's sentiments and thoughts about the same topics on Twitter, answering the fourth research question will answer this study's aim as well. As mentioned before, the articles analysed in this master's thesis clearly depict how the picture that they want to create of Middleton is positive and that of Markle is negative. All the articles are written according to these two conceptualizations. In addition, as *The Daily Mail* and *The Daily Express* are two of Britain's most emotional newspapers, they are expected to have a high level of sentiment in their articles. However, when compared with the sentiments that were found on Twitter, the newspaper's level of sentiment is actually very low. Thus, as these are the most sensational newspapers out there, one might expect a broader range of sentiments. However, the lines of argumentation are really tight as it is limited to positive Middleton and negative Markle. Furthermore, as the newspapers are the people's main source of information about the royals, all feelings and emotions come to the people from these newspapers that focus on creating these narrow conceptualizations of Middleton and Markle.

Twitter, on the other hand, has a broader range of sentiment and it is a comment on how people understand the information that they receive from the newspapers. On Twitter, people share their own opinions and sentiments about the news they have read from the newspapers, which leads to a huge range of sentiments appearing on the site. Many people seem to accept the pro-Middleton and anti-Markle attitudes presented in the newspapers and continue to reinforce them on Twitter.

However, a large number of Twitter users have noticed that newspapers favour Middleton over Markle and have shared their own views and sentiments about it on Twitter. This was visible in the tweets collected for this study as negative sentiments and judgements were also targeted at Middleton, the royal family, media, other Twitter users and the double standards surrounding Middleton and Markle. No unified images of the two women exist on Twitter as people are on the site to express their own views and thus, a variety of sentiments about both Duchesses are apparent.

To conclude, the media's way of conceptualizing Middleton and Markle does differ from people's sentiments and thoughts about the two women that they share on Twitter. Twitter showcases a much larger variety of sentiments than the newspapers and due to this, some of the sentiments expressed on Twitter often differ from the sentiments expressed in *The Daily Mail* and *The Daily Express*. Thus, people do not always agree with the newspapers and do form their own views about the news surrounding the royal family despite the strong bias that the media has against Markle.

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